THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Wars of New-England with the Eastern Indians,

OR A

NARRATIVE

Of their continued Perfidy and Cruelty,

From the 10th of *August*, 1703,

To the Peace renewed 13th of *July*, 1713.

And from the 25th of *July*, 1722,

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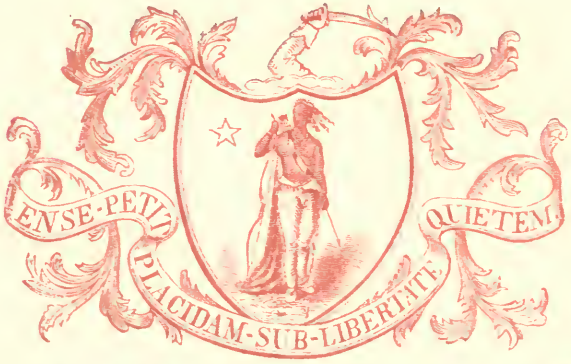
Which was ratified *August* 5th, 1726.



By Samuel Penhallow, Esqr.

Nescio tu quibus es, Lector, lecturus ocellis,
Hoc scio, quod siccis, scribere non potui.

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MEMOIR

OF THE

Hon. SAMUEL PENHALLOW,

One of the Counsellors of the Province of New-Hampshire, and author of a Narrative of Indian Wars, &c.

BY NATHANIEL ADAMS.

To trace the principal events in the lives of eminent men of former times, is always desirable, but frequently attended with difficulty. Their cotemporaries have not always been careful to record those deeds, which have led them to eminence; nor has tradition in every instance been faithful to hand them down to posterity undiminished. Time, the great devourer of all things, preys upon the evidence designed to perpetuate virtuous actions with unabated appetite; and the destroying flames sometimes consume those evidences which have escaped the ravages of time. These misfortunes have attended the author of the narrative of the Indian wars. His descendants, some of whom now fill important offices in the State, have been able to preserve but few anecdotes respecting him; and a diary which he kept for many years, in which he had noted some of the most remarkable incidents of his life, as well as the passing events of the day, was destroyed by the fire, which laid waste a considerable part of the town of Portsmouth, in December, 1805. A short extract from this diary has been preserved in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Samuel Penhallow was born at St. Mabon, in the county of Cornwall, in England, the second day of July, 1665. His

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ancestors had possessed a landed estate in that county. His father was attached to the dissenting interest, and was intimate with the Rev. Charles Morton, rector of the parish of Blisland in the same county. Morton became obnoxious to the ruling party, and was silenced for non-conformity to the rites and ceremonies of the established church. He removed to Newington-Green, near London, where he opened a school for the instruction of youth, in the various branches of literature. His school soon became famous, and numbers resorted to it for education. In 1683, Penhallow being then about eighteen years of age, was placed under his care. He pursued his studies with diligence, and made such progress as not only to gain the approbation of his instructor, but to attract the attention of other gentlemen of science. He continued with Mr. Morton about three years, and until his school was broken up. The bishops and ecclesiastical authority of the Church did not choose that dissenters and puritans should be employed to superintend the education of the rising generation; and prohibited Mr. Morton from pursuing that employment. Mr. Morton then determined to take refuge in New-England, where he could enjoy that liberty of conscience, which was denied him in his native land. He had an affectionate attachment to his pupils, and requested some of them to accompany him. The subject of this memoir was one that was selected on this occasion, to whom Mr. Morton promised his favour and assistance. Penhallow with the consent of his parents accepted the proposals; they embarked for this country and arrived here in July, 1686. Before they left England, the society for propagating the gospel among the Indians, offered Penhallow twenty pounds sterling a year for three years, if he would make himself acquainted with the Indian language; and sixty pounds a year, afterwards during life, if he devoted himself to the ministry, and preached to them "at times." Soon

after their arrival here, Mr. Morton had an invitation to take charge of the church at Charlestown, which he accepted. How long Penhallow continued with him is uncertain. He probably pursued his studies for sometime, according to his original design of qualifying himself for the ministry; whilst he resided at Charlestown he was admitted a member of the church under Mr. Morton's pastoral care. But the political troubles, which took place in Massachusetts about this time, discouraged him from entering into the ministry, and he removed to Portsmouth; at what precise time doth not appear. Soon after his settlement here, he married Mary Cutt, a daughter of President Cutt. She inherited from her father, a valuable patrimony, part of which consisted of a tract of land, on which a large portion of the town of Portsmouth is built. Mr. Penhallow engaged in trade, and with the property he had received by his wife, accumulated a great estate. He erected the brick house which stood at the head of the pier; where he lived in a style superior to most of his fellow townsmen of that day. He was given to hospitality. His house was open to every stranger of distinction who visited the town; and the poor found in him, at all times, a friend ready to relieve their distress. His influence in the town was great, and he took an active part in the management of their affairs. He was early appointed a magistrate, and in the execution of that office, he was prompt, decisive and firm; and literally "a terror to evil doers." So great was his abhorrence of vice, that he proceeded with great severity towards those who were arraigned before him, especially when he discovered any symptoms of guilt. He received a mandamus as one of his Majesty's Council, and took his seat at the board. For some years after his appointment, the business of the Council was conducted with harmony, or at least without any personal altercation. When Lt. Governor Vaughan took his seat, he

assumed more power than many thought belonged to him. Disputes took place between him and Governor Shute on the subject. Penhallow warmly espoused the cause of the Governor and opposed Vaughan's pretentions. Vaughan highly resented Penhallow's conduct, and suspended him from the council. Governor Shute hastened to Portsmouth as soon as he heard of these transactions, re-instated Penhallow and suspended Vaughan. Matters were soon restored to their former peaceable state, and business was transacted with its usual ease and decorum. In the council, Mr. Penhallow was an active and influential member, and as senior counsellor, he presided with dignity and impartiality.

The Recorder of deeds was appointed by the house of Representatives, and Mr. Penhallow had received that appointment. The records and files which had been taken from Chamberlaine, were deposited in the Recorder's office, subject to the orders of the General Court. Whilst Lt. Gov. Usher was in office, he was desirous of having the control of those papers, because he expected to find among them the papers relating to Mason's suits, which had been carefully kept from him. He procured an order from the Lords of Trade and Plantations, who had the direction of all provincial affairs, that they should be placed in the secretary's office. Application was made for them to Mr. Penhallow, but he absolutely refused to deliver them unless he was authorized to do it by an act of the General Court. Neither the threats nor the entreaties of the Lt. Governor had any influence upon him. This refusal shews the great firmness of his mind, and that he was not to be overawed by persons of higher grade in office, when their commands were in opposition to what he thought his duty.

In 1714, Mr. Penhallow was appointed a Justice of the Superior Court of Judicature; and in 1717, Chief Justice of the

same Court, which office he held until his death. A strong mind, improved by education, added to his long acquaintance with public business, enabled him to discharge the duties of the office with as much credit to himself, and benefit to the public, as could be expected from any one not bred to the profession of the law.

Mr. Penhallow likewise held the office of Treasurer of the Province for several years; his last account is dated the 9th of November, 1726, and signed by him, but was settled by his Executor with a committee of the General Court after his decease. He transferred his connexion from the Church in Charlestown to that in Portsmouth, in 1717. In his last will he gave a legacy to the poor of the church, of which he was a member, and another to the Rev. Mr. Fitch, his pastor.

Judge Penhallow filled many of the most important offices in the government, and discharged the duties attached to them with great integrity. His firmness and perseverence were essential qualities in a person concerned in the administration of government, in the turbulent times in which he lived, and the publick reaped the benefit of them. His attachment to the country increased with his residence in it, and he used his constant endeavours to promote its best interests.

He died at Portsmouth the second day of Dec. 1726, aged sixty-one years and five months.

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BOSTON:

Printed by T. Fleet, for S. Gerrish at the lower end of Cornhill, and D. Henchman over against the Brick Meeting-House in Cornhill, 1726.

The Preface.

It is one part of our honor and happiness in this country, among the many difficulties and troubles which have attended the settlements and growth of it unto this day, that there have not been wanting from time to time, honest and worthy persons, and some learned, who have delivered down to posterity a plain and true account of the wars which we have had with the Indian natives in one part of the land and in another.

We owe much to those who have done us this service from the beginning, and they have herein served God, as well as obliged the world. For it always has been, and ever is like to be a grateful thing to mankind, to be informed of the rise and growth of provinces, and of the sufferings of their feeble infant state. From the days of Moses, who wrote the first history, the beginning of the world, and of Israel, the wise and pious among men have scarcely known a more sacred pleasure, nor found a more profitable entertainment, than in tracing the footsteps and windings of Divine Providence, in the planting of colonies and churches, here and there, through the earth.

Nor let it seem vain in me to say, that in the settlement of the New-England churches and provinces, there have been some circumstances so like unto those of Israel of old, (after their entrance into Canaan,) that I am persuaded no people of

God under heaven can sing of his mercies and judgments in the inspired phrase* with more direct and pertinent application, than we can do. The subject of the following book affords the most special instance hereof; namely, that although our merciful and gracious God did in a wonderful manner, cast out the heathen before our fathers, and planted them; prepared also room before them, and caused them to take deep root and to fill the land, so that the vine hath sent out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches upon the river; yet to humbly improve us, and for our sins to punish us, the righteous God hath left a sufficient number of the fierce and barbarous savages on our borders, to be pricks in our ears, and thorns in our sides, and they have been and are like the boar of the woods to waste us, and the wild beast of the field to devour us.

Wherefore, on principles both humane and religious, I gladly introduce the following memoirs to the public view, with my hearty thanks to the honorable author for the great pains he has taken (among other his public services) to transmit these particulars of the two last wars with the Indian enemy down to posterity, that the generation to come might know them, and set their hope in God, and not forget his works, but keep his commandments.

The Reader must not expect much entertainment or curiosty in the story of a barbarous war with cruel and perfidious savages. It is the benefit of posterity in a religious improvement of this dry and bloody story, that we aim at, in preserving some remembrance thereof. And that in times to come, when we are dead and forgotten, materials may remain for a continued and entire history of our country; and we hope that they who come after us will take the like care in their times for the children that shall be born.

* 79 and 80 Psalms, and part of 105, 106, and 107 Psalms.

Let it suffice, in praise of the narrative, if the facts related be true and exact, and that the style be familiar, plain and easy, as all historical memoirs should be written. As to the truth of it, none (I suppose) will have any doubt, to whom the author is known; and to whom among us is he not known? Or by whom among the lovers of the country is he not esteemed for his affectionate regard unto the civil and religious liberties of it?

The Rev. Dr. Mather wrote the *Remarkables of the Eastern war* before this, from the year 1688 unto the year 1698, ten years, wherefore he called his book *Decennium Luctuosum*. This book may claim the like title, for the first war here related, from August 10, 1703, to the 13th July, 1713, did also continue just ten years.

To these ten years of trouble and distress, the author has added an account of another but shorter war of three years, from July 25, 1722, to December 15, 1725, when the savages by their delegates renewed their submission, and signed articles of peace in the Council Chamber in Boston: for the lasting effects whereof we are humbly waiting on a gracious God with our earnest prayers. And we owe abundant praises to his holy name for the great successes, with which he has been pleased to crown the councils and arms of the province in this last short war: to the humbling the insolent enemy and bringing them so soon to sue for the peace which they had broken. Not unto us, O Lord! not to us, but to thy name give glory; for thy mercy and for thy truth sake!

In a special manner, the wonderful victory obtained August 12, 1724, over the bold and bloody tribes at Norridgewalk, and their sudden destruction that memorable day, was the singular work of God;—And the officers and soldiers piously put far from themselves the honor of it. The plain hand of providence, and not their own conduct, facilitated and quickened their

march. God sent them timely information where the Indians had placed their guards upon the river, that they might shun them, and so come upon the town undiscovered. God brought them on it in a right time, when the fighting men were just come in from abroad, and the next day (we are told) they were to have come down on our frontiers. They were surprized in the height of security, and so amazed that they could not find their hands when they would have escaped. This destruction of the enemy was with the loss of only one life, and two wounded on our part. And he, who was the father of the war, the ghostly father of those perfidious savages, like Balaam the son of Beor, was slain among the enemy, after his vain endeavors to curse us.

May those singular favours of God have their saving effects on us! and his goodness to us on the present fruits of peace, which we are about to reap; lead us to repentance, bind us to obedience, raise us in Devotion, and endear his blessed name and truths and ways to us. Amen.

BENJAMIN COLMAN.*

Boston, Jan. 28, 1725—6.

[* Dr. Colman, one of the most eminent divines of New England, and the minister of the church in Brattle-street, from August 4, 1699, to his death August 29, 1747, was a native of Boston, and born 19th Oct. 1673, and graduated at Harvard College, in 1692.]

Introduction.

The keeping a register of memorable occurrences, as it has been the practice of former ages, so it ought to be continued for the advantage of posterity. And inasmuch as the Divine Providence has placed me near the seat of action, where I have had greater opportunities than many others of remarking the cruelty and perfidy of the Indian enemy, I thought it my duty to keep a record thereof. Not that at first I designed to make these memoirs public, but now am persuaded to it by some whose judgment I pay a deference unto. In the collecting them, I have used all faithfulness; and have been assisted therein, not only from the abstracts of original letters, but from persons of the best credit and reputation, and yet doubtless some small occurrences may have slipped my knowledge.

I might with Orosius very justly entitle this history, *de miseria hominum*, being no other than a narrative of tragical incursions perpetrated by bloody pagans, who are monsters of such cruelty, that the words of Virgil may not unaptly be applied to them.

Tristius haud illis monstrum, nec Sævior ulla pestis et ira Deum.

Who are as implacable in their revenge, as they are terrible in the execution of it; and will convey it down to the third and fourth generation. No courtesy will ever oblige them to gratitude; for their greatest benefactors have frequently fallen as victims to their fury.

The Roman spectacles of old, were very lively in them repeated. God has made them a terrible scourge for the punishment of our sins. And probably that very sin of ours in neglecting the welfare of their souls. For we have not expressed the like laudable care for them, as hath been done in the southern and western parts of the country. But indeed, we have rather aimed to advance a private trade, than to instruct them in the principles of true religion. This brings to my remembrance a remarkable saying of one of their chief sachems, whom (a little before the war broke out) I asked, wherefore it was they were so much bigotted to the French, considering their traffic with them was not so advantageous as with the English? He gravely replied, "that the Friars taught them to pray, but the English never did."

And it is also remarkably observable, that among all the settlements and towns of figure and distinction, not one of them have been utterly destroyed wherever a church was gathered.

But if the eastern parts have been remiss, this should no ways detract from the praise of that incomparable zeal of the venerable Mr. Eliot, and the indefatigable pains which the renowned Mr. Mayhew and others, have exercised in the instruction and conversion of the natives in their parts: wherein they were so far successful (through the blessing of God) as to form many churches of baptized Indians; and to gather many assemblies of catechumens, that profess the name of Christ; which remain to this day the fruit and reward of their labors, will bespeak their praise to future ages, and the thanksgiving of many to God.

S. P.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

WARS OF NEW-ENGLAND, &C.

IT is storied of Tissaphernes, that so soon as he entered into a league with Agesilaus, king of Sparta, he studied means whereby to infringe and violate the same. Upon which Agesilaus sent his Ambassadors unto him to return him thanks, that by so doing, he had made the Gods his enemies. Now considering the league that has been solemnized with the Indians, together with their cruelty and treachery so notoriously perpetrated, it is no wonder if in the sequel of this history, we find them under some signal remark of the Divine displeasure.

Not that I am insensible that many have stigmatized the English, as chiefly culpable in causing the first breach between them and us; by invading their properties and defrauding them in their dealings; but to censure the public for the sinister actions of a few private persons, is utterly repugnant to reason and equity. Especially, considering the great care that the legislative power had taken to protect the natives and their interests.

What hath formerly occurred of this kind is none of my business to descant upon here; but as to the infraction which I am about to make mention of, I never yet heard the least word in their favour, but all sorts of persons do condemn their perfidy.

At the arrival of Governor Dudley in the year 1702, the whole body of Indians was in a tolerable good frame and temper; but being animated by the French, they soon began to threaten and insult the English: upon which, in the succeeding year, June the 20th, a congress was appointed at Casco, where the chiefs of the several tribes met, viz: Mauxis and Hopehood, from Norridgewock,* Wanungunt, and Wanadugunbuent, from Penobscot, Wattanummon, Adiawando and Hegen, from Penacook† and Pigwacket.

Mesambomett and Wexar, from Amasconty, with about 250 men in 65 canoes, well armed, and mostly painted with variety of colours, which seemingly were affable and kind, and yet in some instances gave cause of jealousy.

A tent being fixed for entertaining the Governor and gentlemen who accompanied him, together with the Sagamores; his Excellency very kindly saluted them, saying; "That as he was commissioned by the great and victorious Queen of England, he came to visit them as his friends and brethren, and to reconcile whatever differences had happened since the last treaty."

At this, they made a pause, but after a short intermission, Captain Simmo, who was their orator, arose, and said, "That they acknowledged his favour in giving them a visit at such a juncture, with so many of the Council and gentlemen of both Provinces; assuring him, that they aimed at nothing more than peace; and that as high as the sun was above the earth, so far distant should their designs be of making the least breach between each other." And, as a testimony thereof, they presented him a belt of wampum, and invited him to the two pillars of stones, which at a former treaty were erected, and called by the significent name of the Two Brothers; unto which both parties went and added a greater number of stones.

[* Naridgewalk, in the copy. † Pennecook, in the copy.]

This ceremony being performed, several volleys were discharged on each side; and the Indians added their usual dancing, singing, and loud acclamations of joy. Trading-houses in several places were hereupon engaged; and that the price of commodities should be stated, and an armorer fixed at the public charge. Many presents were also made them, which they kindly received; so that every thing looked with a promising aspect of a settled peace: And that which afterward seemed to confirm it, was the coming in of Captain Bomazeen and Captain Samuel, who informed, that several missionaries from the Friars were lately come among them, who endeavored to break the union, and seduce them from their allegiance to the Crown of England; but had made no impression on them, for that they were as firm as the mountains, and should continue so, as long as the sun and moon endured.

The eastern inhabitants, who before had thoughts of removing, were now encouraged to stand their ground; several more were also preparing to settle among them, partly from the fertility of the soil, the plenty of timber, the advantage of fishery, and several other inducements. But I should have taken notice of two instances in the late treaty, wherein the matchless perfidy of these bloody infidels did notoriously appear. 1st. As the treaty was concluded with volleys on both sides, as I said before, the Indians desired the English to fire first, which they readily did, concluding it no other but a compliment; but so soon as the Indians fired, it was observed that their guns were charged with bullets; having contrived (as was afterwards confirmed) to make the English the victims of that day. But Providence so ordered it, as to place their chief Councillors and Sachems in the tent where ours were seated, by which means they could not destroy one without endangering the other! 2d. As the English waited some days for Watanummon (the Pigwacket sachem)

to complete their Council, it was afterward discovered, that they only tarried for a reinforcement of 200 French and Indians, who in three days after we returned, came among them; having resolved to seize the Governor, Council and gentlemen, and then to sacrifice the inhabitants at pleasure; which probably they might have done, had they not been prevented by an overruling power.

But notwithstanding this disappointment, they were still resolved on their bloody design: for within six weeks after, the whole eastern country was in a conflagration, no house standing nor garrison unattacked. August 10th,* at nine in the morning, they began their bloody tragedy, being about five hundred Indians of all sorts, with a number of French; who divided themselves into several companies, and made a descent on the several inhabitants from Casco to Wells, at one and the same time, sparing none of every age or sex.†

As the milk white brows of the grave and ancient had no respect shown; so neither had the mournful cries of tender infants the least pity; for they triumphed at their misery, and applauded such as the skilfullest artists, who were most dexterous in contriving the greatest tortures; which was enough to turn the most stoical apathy into streams of mournful sympathy and compassion.

The town of Wells, which valiently stood its ground both in the former and latter war, suffered now great spoil, nor could escape without the loss of 39 that were killed and taken.

Cape Porpoise‡ being inhabited only by a few fishermen, was wholly laid desolate. But the garrison at Winter-Harbor defended itself with much bravery; yet it was at last overpowered by force, and then submitted on terms.

[* In the year 1703.]

[† The Indians took and killed 130 people. I *Belknap*, 264.]

[‡ Cape Porposs in copy.]

Saco-Fort was also attacked by the enemy with great fury; they killed eleven, and carried twenty-four captive.

Spurwink,* which was principally inhabited by the Jordon's, had no less than twenty-two of that family killed and taken.

Those at Scarborough were mostly in garrison, whom the Indians not willing to encounter, sent a captive before with a flag of truce; but the officer being acquainted with their intrigues, slighted the message, secured the captive and made a vigorous defence. However, by a long siege, they were so reduced, that had not recruits been sent them, they had utterly been overthrown.

Perpooduck† was of all places (for number) the greatest sufferers, being but nine families, and no garrison to retire unto; neither any men at home, where they took eight, and inhumanly butchered twenty-five; among whom was the wife of Michael Webber, who being big with child, they knocked her on the head, and ript open her womb, cutting one part of the child out; a spectacle of horrid barbarity.

Casco,‡ which was the utmost frontier, commanded by Major March, who was all this while insensible of the spoil that the Indians had done, was saluted by Mauxis, Wanungonet, and Assacombuit, three of their most valient and puissant Sachems. They gradually advanced with a flag of truce, and sent one before them, to signify that they had matter of moment to impart to him. At first, he slighted the message, but on second thoughts went out to meet them; they seeming to him but few in number, and unarmed: however he ordered two or three sentinels to be ready in case of danger. Their voice to him at

[* Spurwink is the settlement near Richmond's island in Maine. It was the seat of Robert Trelawney who early came over, and had a grant of nearly all the lands in Cape Elizabeth, and of the lands on the neck of Casco, and extending some way into the country.]

[† Perpooduck is the point directly opposite Portland. *Greenleaf's* Eccl. Hist., p. 87.]

[‡ Casco was what was anciently called Falmouth. *Sullivan*, p. 213.]

first seemed like the voice of Jacob, but their hands were like the hands of Esau: *With their tongues they used deceit, and the poison of asps was under their lips.* For no sooner had they saluted him, but with hatchets under their mantles they violently assaulted him; having a number that lay in ambush near them, who shot down one of his guards: but being a person of uncommon strength, as well as courage, he soon wrested a hatchet from one of them, with which he did good execution. Yet if sergeant Hook (with a file of ten from the fort) had not speedily succoured him, they would soon have overpowered him. Mr. Phippeny and Mr. Kent, who accompanied him, were attacked by others, and soon fell by their fury; for being advanced in years, they were so infirm, that I might say of them as Juvenal did of Priam, they had scarce blood enough left to tinge the knife of the sacrifice.

The enemy being defeated in this their design, fell upon the several cottages which lay round, and destroyed all they could. But the Major on rallying his men together, seeing nothing but fire and smoke, divided them into three parts, which were twelve in each, and interchanged them every two hours, who thus continued six days and nights without the least intermission; by which time the whole body of Indians came together, being upwards of five hundred, besides French commanded by Monsieur Bobasser, who had ransacked and laid waste the several settlements before mentioned; and being flushed with success, having taken one sloop, two shallops, and much plunder, attempted to undermine the fort from the water side, in which they proceeded two days and nights, and probably would have effected their design, if they had not been prevented by the arrival of Capt. Southack, who raised the siege, retook the shallop, and shattered their navy, which was upwards of 200 canoes.

On Tuesday after,* Capt. Tom, with thirty Indians, made a descent on Hampton village, where they slew four, besides the widow Mussey, who was a remarkable speaking Quaker, and much lamented by that sect. They also rifled two houses near the garrison, but fearing a pursuit, drew off; it being generally observed, that they seldom annoy but by surprize.†

By this time, Capt. Summersby was ordered with his troop to Portsmouth, and Capt. Wadley to Wells, with the like company of Dragoons; many concluding that the eastern parts would be the seat of action; and yet a few days after, advice was brought from Deerfield, (as a forerunner of some greater evil,) of two men taken and carried to Canada; which so alarm'd the country, to see the frontiers insulted two hundred miles in length, that on September 26th, the Governor ordered 360 men to Pigwacket, one of their principal head-quarters; but thro' the difficulty of the passage, and unskilfulness of the guides, they returned without any discovery.

Capt. Davis at the same time had the like misfortune, who went to the ponds, but it seemed the enemy went eastward: For on the 6th of October, Capt. Hunnuell with nineteen men, as they were going to work in their meadows at Black point,‡ were way-laid by two hundred Indians, who at one stroke killed and took the whole body excepting one, who like Job's messenger was preserved to give the melancholy account thereof.

Upon this they attacked the fort, where only eight men were left under the command of Lieut. Wyatt, who by the encouragement of Capt. Willard, and Capt. Wells, that were there in two sloops, stood their ground some time, but being afterwards

[* August 17, 1703.]

[† On the 8th October, 1703, Zebediah Williams and John Nims, were taken prisoners at Deerfield, and carried to Canada. Williams died there; Nims, with some others, made his escape and returned to Deerfield in 1705. *Vol.* 1 *of the N. H. Hist. Society's col.*]

[‡ Black point was one part of Scarborough, Me. *Vol.* 1 *N. H. Hist. Soc. col.*]

dispirited, they went on board Capt. Wells, and the enemy set the deserted garrison on fire.

Another company of Indians commanded by Sampson fell on York, where they slew Arthur Brandon's wife and five children, carrying captive with them the widow Parsons and her daughter.

The former attempt on Pigwacket* proving unsuccessful, Colonel March went a second time with the like number of men, where he killed six Indians and took as many more with some plunder, which was the first reprisal that we made; but the enemy dispersing into small parties, did much more mischief than in larger; which put the country into a far greater confusion, insomuch that there was no safety to him that went out, nor him that came in, but dreadful calamity on every side.†

———*Terror ubique tremor*———

At Berwick, they ambushed five, and as the store ship was entering Casco, they entertained them so unexpectedly with a volley of shot, that the Master with three more were slain, and two in the boat wounded.

The general assembly being sensibly affected with the state of matters, and disposed to a vigorous prosecution of the war, enacted, that forty pounds should be given for every Indian scalp, which prompted some, and animated others, to a noble emulation. Capt. Tyng was the first that embraced the tender, who in the depth of winter, went to their head quarters, and got five, for which he received two hundred pounds. Major Hilton also with five companies more made the like essay, and so did Capt. Stephens, but returned with no other laurel than the safety of themselves and company.‡

[* This word is differently spelt. Winthrop has it *Pegwaggett*; Sullivan, *Peckwalket* and *Pickwocket*; Belknap, *Pigwacket*. The true orthography is said to be *Pequawkett*. *Vol.* 1 *N. H. Hist. Soc. col.*]

[† The success of Colonel March encouraged the government to offer a bounty of £40 for scalps. 1 *Belknap*, 265.]

[‡ Capt. John Gilman of Exeter, Capt. Chesley and Capt. Davis of Oyster river, marched with their companies on snow shoes into the woods: but returned without success. 1 *Belknap*, 266.]

The enemy went on daring and successful. They frequently followed the tracks of our men in their marches: At Berwick, they killed one, wounded another, and burnt two houses. After that they made a descent on Andrew Neal's Garrison, where they were vigorously repulsed by Capt. Brown, who killed nine on the spot and wounded many more, which so enraged those wretches, that at their return they executed their revenge on Joseph Ring, who was then a captive among them, whom they fastened to a stake and burnt alive; barbarously shouting and rejoicing at his cries.

February 8th, Joseph Bradley's garrison of Haverhill was unhappily surpriz'd by a small scout, who skulking at a distance, and seeing the gates open and none on the sentry, rushed in and became masters thereof. The housewife perceiving the misery that was attending her, and having boiling soap on the fire, scalded one of them to death. The sentinel within was slain, and she with several others were taken; which was the second time of her captivity. But that which heightened her affliction was being with child, and yet obliged to travel in a deep snow, under a heavy burden, and many days together without subsistence, excepting a few bits of skin, ground-nuts, bark of trees, wild onions, and lilly roots. Nevertheless she was wonderfully supported, and at last safely delivered; but the babe soon perished for want of nourishment, and by the cruelty of the Indians, who, as it cried, threw hot embers in its mouth. After a year's bondage, she was sold to the French for eighty livres, and then redeemed by her husband.

The use of snow-shoes appearing very requisite for marching in the winter season, occasioned an act in both provinces for supplying the frontiers therewith: And this season, which before was dreaded as most hazardous, was now the time of greatest safety, and of less difficulty in travelling.

But the southern parts not thinking themselves in so much danger did in a little time become secure, which the enemy taking notice of, fell on Deerfield, of which the Rev. Mr. Stoddart gave me the following account. That Colonel Schuyler, who was always a kind and faithful intelligencer, gave timely warning thereof, which awakened some, but was slighted by others: However, Mr. Williams, the worthy pastor of that place, was strongly possessed that the town would in a little time be destroyed; signifying as much in his publick ministry, and private conference; and could not be satisfied till he had got twenty soldiers to be posted there. A few nights before the assault was, they were strangely amused, by a trampling noise round the fort, as if it were beset by Indians. Towards morning, being February 29th, the enemy sent scouts to discover the posture of the town, who observing the watch walking in the streets, returned and put them to a stand; Awhile after they sent again and were advised that all was then still and quiet: upon which, two hours before day, they attacked the fort, and by the advantage of some drifts of snow, got over the walls. The whole body was above two hundred and fifty, under the command of Monsieur Arteil, who found the people fast asleep and easily secured them. The most considerable part of the town thus fell into their hands.

They left no garrison unattacked, excepting that of Capt. Wells; but at Benoni Stebbins's they met with some repulse, and lost several. Sixty of the English fell, whereof many were stifled in a cellar; and a hundred were taken captive,* who with a melancholy countenance condoled each other's misery, yet durst not express the anguish of their souls. That day and night were spent in plundering, burning and destroying. The

[* The names of those persons who were killed and taken captive at Deerfield at this time, are preserved in Rev. Mr. William's *Redeemed Captive.* Appendix.]

next morning they withdrew into the woods, carrying with them their plunder and captives; among whom was the Reverend Mr. Williams,* (before mentioned) whose sufferings, with his neighbors, through a deep snow, over mountainous desarts, were exceeding great; besides many trials and fears which they labored under.

The country being alarmed, several hastened to their relief; about thirty of those which first came, charged the enemy in the rear, and being strengthened with a further supply, pursued them with good success; but the enemy returning, and being much superior in number, killed nine of ours in the skirmish.

The day after, there was a considerable confluence from the lower towns, as well as from the county of Hartford, but for want of snow-shoes, were unable to pursue them. Some of our captives then in Canada, knowing the enterprize that was on foot, sent several letters unto their friends, which the enemy did carefully put into a bag, and hung it upon the limb of a tree in the high way; which letters were afterwards found and gave satisfaction of those that were then alive among them.

While the Indians by land were every way distressing of us, the French by sea were as industrious to impoverish us.

April 7th, 1704, they fitted out a privateer shallop with twenty seven men, to intercept our southern trade as they came laden with provisions; which if they had succeeded in, would not only have supplied their own indigent forces, but the Indians also; (who were then forming a desperate design against us) but through the favor of God to us, they were cast away on Plymouth shore. A like signal favour to us was the taking a

[* Rev. John Williams was son of Stephen Williams, Esq. of Roxbury, where he was born Dec. 10, 1664; graduated at Harvard College, 1683; ordained the first minister in Deerfield, May, 1686; captured by the Indians, Feb. 29, 1704; returned from captivity and arrived at Boston, Nov. 21, 1706; died June 12, 1729. He published a narrative of his captivity and sufferings entitled "The Redeemed Captive returning to Zion," which, in 1795, had passed through six Editions. *Vol. 1 N. H. Hist. Soc. col.*]

store-ship of theirs (by our Virginia fleet) of forty guns, bound to Canada, in which were twenty officers, two thousand small arms, with amunition answerable; besides a vast number of crucifixes, and presents of a greater value for encouraging the Indians in acts of hostility against the English. In the engagement, their General was slain, the only man that fell in battle, by whose interest those stores were procured; which loss was so affecting, that (as some of our captives afterwards reported) it caused a deep humiliation throughout Canada a considerable time after.

As the spring advanced, it was thought necessary to guard the frontiers with fresh troops, upon which, Major Mason with ninety five of the Pequod, and Mohegan Indians, were posted at Berwick, who at first were very terrifying to the enemy: Yet frequent assaults were afterwards made at a little distance, as on April 25th, Nathaniel Meadar was shot while at work in his field. They mangled his dead corpse after a barbarous manner. Next day, they kill'd Edward Taylor near Lamprey-Eel River, and after that took his wife and son, whom they carried to Canada, and she was afterwards redeemed. From thence, they went to Cochecho, expecting to have made Mr. Waldron the victim of that day; but being happily from home, they missed their aim. However they surprized a servant of his, as she went to the well for water, whom (after they had examined concerning her master, the state of the garrison, and other affairs) they knocked on the head, but the stroke not proving fatal, she afterwards recovered.

After this, several were assaulted in the road to Wells, whereof two were killed, one taken, and another made his escape.

May 13th, an express came from North-Hampton, advising, that about break of day, a company of French and Indians, fell

on a fortified house, at Pascomuck,* where no watch being kept, the people were alarmed in their beds, by the noise of the enemy's rushing on the house; and before the inhabitants could rise, the Indians had got their guns through the port-holes, and shot those that first appeared, killing some and wounding others. The surprized people made what resistance they could, firing briskly on the enemy; but the house being soon set on fire, they were forced to yield themselves prisoners. The enemy soon drew off, but fearing a pursuit, dismissed one of the wounded, with this caution, that if the English followed them, they would slay the prisoners; but the unfortunate messenger in returning back, was slain by another Indian. On the same morning, another party attacked a farm house, two miles off; but the fury of the dogs so alarmed the inhabitants, that they instantly got up and fired several guns, to very good advantage, which prevented any further attempt. As for those at Pascomuck, they were immediately pursued; three made an escape, eight were rescued, nineteen slain, and three carried to Canada. Next day, Major Whiting pursued them with a number of horses, and came upon their track, but the ways were so impassable, that they sent their horses back with a resolve to follow them on foot, but some proving lame, and others tiring, caused the rest to desist. I would here remark, that a little before the troubles at Pascomuck, and the farm-house before mentioned, the people at Springfield heard a great shooting; unto some it seemed to be at Westfield, to others at a village, and to some again in the woods; so that many hastened to their assistance; but when they came all was still and quiet, the reason whereof is hard to assign, and yet we have repeated instances in history of the like nature.

Under all those sufferings from a cruel enemy, little or no

[* Now a part of East-Hampton, Massachusetts.]

impression could ever be made by us upon them, by reason of their retiring into unaccessable swamps, and mountains. Wherefore it was determined, that Major Church, who was so eminently serviceable in the former war, should visit their head quarters, according to a scheme which he had projected.

No sooner was his commission granted, but he raised a considerable number of volunteers out of Plymouth colony both of English and friend Indians, and marched to Nantaskett for further instructions; where the following gentlemen were appointed officers under him, viz. Colonel Gorham, Major Hilton, Captain John Brown, Constant, and Edward Church, Cole, Dyer, Lamb, Cook, Harreden, Williamson, and Myrick,* with five hundred and fifty men and fourteen transports, and with thirty six whaleboats, which were guarded by Capt. Smith, Rogers, and Southack, in three ships of war. After they were equipped, they sailed to Pascataqua, to make up their complement from thence. May 15th, they sailed eastward, visiting all parts as they want along, till they came to the Green Islands, where they took Monsieur Lafebure, and his two sons, with a Canada Indian, whom they examined apart: The father at first seemed surly and crooked, and the young men were much of the like temper, but being told what they must trust unto in case they did not confess, were afterwards submissive, and promised to pilot them wherever they were directed. Upon this, the transports and whaleboats were ordered to be in readiness, and every man to have a week's provision; from hence, they paddled to Penobscot, and with the assistance of D. Young, whom they brought out of Boston Gaol on purpose for a pilot, killed and took a considerable number both of French and Indians, among

[* The names of the officers under Col. Church, as given in his memoirs of the expedition, were Lt. Col. John Gorham, Major Winthrop Hilton, Captains John Brown, James Cole, John Cook, Isaac Mirick, John Harradon, Constant Church, John Dyer, Joshua Lamb, Caleb Williamson, and Edward Church. *Vol. 1 N. H. Hist. Soc. col.*

whom was St. Casteen's daughter. From thence they went to Passamaquodda, and Mount Desart, where they met the three ships of war according to appointment. Their custom was to rest in the day, and row in the night; and never to fire at an Indian if they could reach him with a hatchet, for fear of alarming them. Here they seized the old Lotriell and his family, after that, Monsieur Guorden, and Sharkee, who a little before came with a commission from Canada to form an expedition against the English. No sooner had our forces arrived here, but orders were sent them from Boston, forthwith to sail to Port-Royal, expecting some store ships from France, which was welcome news for officers and soldiers. But they missed their expectations: However, the ships stood off the harbor while the land forces went to Menis, where a council of war was held, and Lieut. Giles was sent to the town with a flag of truce and summons to surrender; their answer was, "that if our forces "would not hurt their estates, they would surrender, otherwise, "were resolved to stand their ground." Upon which, a descent was made upon them that night, but little effected until the morning, and then the forces drew up and drove all before them.

There was at this time a considerable plenty of brandy and claret in their houses, which rather proved a snare than service to our men; especially the Indians, who naturally affect strong drink, but this was soon prevented, by breaking in the heads of the casks. Lieut. Baker and one more were killed in this attack, and not above six died in the whole expedition. Most of their houses were burnt, and much plunder taken, but with as little effusion of blood as possibly could be. The General ordered their dams to be dug down, and their fortifications to be laid in ashes. Having as great success as reasonably could be expected, throughout all the territories of L'Acadia,

and Nova Scotia, where he took a hundred prisoners, burnt and laid waste all the French settlements, (except the town of Port Royal) a great many cattle were also killed, and the Indians driven into such confusion, that they left their wigwams and retired into private cells.

On July 4th, a council of war was called to concert what next to do, who resolved, that as the Fort was alarmed, the enemy was more numerous than at first; and that as many of our men were tired and defective, it would be best to return; which was also consented unto by our sea officers. But notwithstanding the fatigue that this worthy gentlemen had undergone, and the dangers he had run; the spoil he had done; and the victories he won, yet he could not escape the censures of many. Some indeed extolled his valor and conduct even to an hyperbole. while others endeavoured to lesson it with as much disgrace and infamy. Some thought he did too much, others too little: But after one and another has passed their sentiments, the General Assembly (which was then sitting) voted him thanks for the good services he did both to the queen and country.

The Governor of Port Royal being in fear of a new enterprize. sent Lewis Allein as a spy, under the colour of a flag of truce. with six prisoners, (whereof Mr. Hoddy of Piscataqua was one) to observe and know the motion of the English. But being suspected, he was apprehended and searched, and in his pocket-book was found this direction; "That if any enterprise was on foot, he should (in his advice book) join L. A. the two first letters of his name close together; if it was only in agitation, to place them at some distance; But if nothing was in motion, then to sign a cross."

While our forces were engaged in visiting the enemy abroad, great care was taken of covering the frontiers at home; and yet very daring assaults were frequently made by small numbers. At Oyster river, they wounded William Tasket, and at Dover

they waylaid the inhabitants as they returned from publick worship: After that, they killed a lad near Casco fort. About the same time, some of the enemy were fishing up Connecticut river, and being tracked by a small scout of our volunteers, one Englishman and five Mohegan Indians, they pursued them to such advantage, that they slew the whole company, save one, which were nine in number. Mr. Caleb Lyman, (now Elder of a church in Boston) was leader in this hardy action, and has favoured us with the following account of it.

Mr. Caleb Lyman's account of eight enemy Indians killed by himself and five friend Indians.

"Some time in the month of May, 1704, there came intelligence from Albany, of a number of enemy Indians up Connecticut river, who had built a fort, and planted corn, at a place called Cowassuck. On the fifth of June following, we set out (by order of authority) from Northampton, and went nine days journey into the wilderness, (through much difficulty, by reason of the enemy's hunting and scouting in the woods, as we perceived by their tracks and firing) and then came across some fresh tracks, which we followed till we came in sight of the abovesaid river: Supposing there might be a number of Indians at hand, we being not far from the place where the fort was said to be built. Here we made a halt, to consult what methods to take; and soon concluded to send out a spy, with green leaves for a cap and vest, to prevent his own discovery, and to find out the enemy. But before our spy was gone out of sight, we saw two Indians, at a considerable distance from us, in a canoe, and so immediately called him: And soon after we heard the firing of a gun up the river. Upon which we concluded to keep close till sun-set; and then if we could make any further discovery of

the enemy, to attack them, if possible, in the night. And accordingly when the evening came on, we moved towards the river, and soon perceived a smoke, at about half a mile's distance, as we thought, where we afterwards found they had taken up their lodging. But so great was the difficulty, that (though we used our utmost care and diligence in it) we were not able to make the approach till about two o'clock in the morning, when we came within twelve rods of the wigwam where they lay. But here we met with a new difficulty, which we feared would have ruined our design. For the ground was so covered over with dry sticks and brush, for the space of five rods, that we could not pass, without making such a crackling, as we thought would alarm the enemy, and give them time to escape. But while we were contriving to compass our design, God in his good providence so ordered, that a very small cloud arose, which gave a smart clap of thunder, and a sudden shower of rain. And this opportunity we embraced, to run through the thicket; and so came undiscovered within sight of the wigwam; and perceived by their noise, that the enemy were awake. But however, being unwilling to lose any time, we crept on our hands and knees till we were within three or four rods of them. Then we arose, and ran to the side of the wigwam, and fired in upon them: and flinging down our guns, we surrounded them with our clubs and hatchets and knocked down several we met with. But after all our diligence, two of their number made their escape from us: one mortally wounded, and the other not hurt, as we afterwards heard.

When we came to look over the slain, we found seven dead upon the spot: six of whom we scalped, and left the other unscalped. (Our Indians saying, they would give one to the country, since we had each of us one, and so concluded we should be rich enough.) When the action was thus over, we

took our scalps and plunder, such as guns, skins, &c. and the enemy's canoes, in which we came down the river about twelve miles by break of day, and then thought it prudence to dismiss and break the canoes, knowing there were some of the enemy betwixt us and home.

And now, all our care being how to make a safe and comfortable return, we first looked over our provision, and found we had not more than enough for one small refreshment: and being above one hundred miles from any English settlement, we were very thoughtful how we should subsist by the way. For having tracked about thirty of the enemy a little before us, we could not hunt for our subsistence for fear of discovery; and so were obliged to eat buds of trees, grass and strawberry leaves, for the space of four or five days, till through the goodness of God, we safely arrived at Northampton, on the 19th or 20th of the aforesaid June. And some time after, (upon our humble petition to the Great and General Court, to consider the service we had done) we received thirty-one pounds reward. And I have only this to observe, that in consequence of this action, the enemy were generally alarmed, and immediately forsook their fort and corn at Cowassuck, and never returned to this day that we could hear of, to renew their settlement in that place."*

I beg the country's leave to observe, how poorly this bold action and great service was rewarded. No doubt they looked for, and well deserved, eight times as much; and now the province would readily pay eight hundred pounds in the like case: but a gracious God has recompensed to the Elder, I trust, both in the blessings of his providence and grace.

The French in Canada were now forming another design on North Hampton, of which we had seasonable advice; yet two

[*May 11, 1704, John Allen and his wife were killed at, or near Deerfield. Sergeant Hasks was wounded about the same time, but escaped to Hatfield. *Vol.* 1 *N. H. Hist. Soc. col.*]

men were killed going to Deerfield. After that, came in a French deserter, who informed of the state of the army that was then coming. Upon this, expresses and scouts were every way sent to observe their motion: Major Whiting with a considerable number went to the Ponds, where he expected to give them battle, but they were gone from thence, leaving their canoes behind, which he burnt, Their whole body were seven hundred, with two Friars, under the command of Monsieur Boocore, who in. their march began to mutiny about the plunder which they had in view, and expected to be master of; forgetting the proverb about dividing the skin before the bear was killed. Their dissention at last was so great, that upwards of two hundred returned in discontent. However the rest came on, and sent scouts before to observe the posture of the English, who reported, that they were as thick as the trees in the woods. Upon which their spirits failed, and more of their number deserted. They then called a council of war, who resolved to desist from the enterprise. Yet some staid, and afterwards fell on Lancaster and Groton, where they did some spoil, but not what they expected, for that these towns were seasonably strengthened.*

Capt. Tyng and Capt. How entertained a warm dispute with them for some time, but being much inferior in number, were forced to retreat with some loss; yet those that were slain of the enemy, were more than those of ours. One of them was an officer of some distinction, which so exasperated their spirits, that in revenge, they fired the Meeting-House, killed several cattle, and burnt many out-houses. About the same time, Capt. Allen, from Westfield, discovered a small party with whom he

[* July 19, 1702, Thomas Russell of Deerfield was killed.]

[The Indians commenced their attack on Lancaster on the 31st July, early in the morning. In their first onset, they killed Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder, near the gate of his own garrison; and on the same day, three others, viz. Abraham How, John Spaulding and Benjamin Hutchins, near the same Garrison. *Rev. Mr. Harrington's Century Sermon.*]

had a skirmish, and lost one man, but killed three, and rescued a captive. After this, between Hadley and Quabaug,* we had one wounded and another slain. By this time came Major Tailor with his troop, (who always distinguished himself of an active spirit to serve his country,) Capt. Prescott, Bulkley, and Willard, with their companies, who were so vigorous and intense in pursuing the enemy, that they put them all to flight. And yet a little while after they fell on Groton and Nashua, where they killed Lieut. Wyler and several more. It was not then known how many of the enemy were slain, it being customary among them to carry off their dead: however, it was afterwards affirmed, that they lost sixteen, besides several that were wounded.† After this they divided into smaller parties and did much mischief, as at Amesbury, Haverhill, and Exeter. August 11th, they wounded Mark Giles of Dover, (with his son) who, through anguish of pain, and much effusion of blood, expired a few days after. At the same time, another party fell on York, where they slew Matthew Austin near the garrison, and then went to Oyster River, where they killed several while at work in their field.

The five nations of Indians which are called by the name of Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senekas, and Macquas,‡ all this while stood neuter, but being like to be influenced by the French missionaries, who came among them, Colonel Townsend and Mr. Leverett, from the Massachusetts, Capt. Gold and Capt.

[* Now Brookfield.]

[† On the 8th of August, 1704, as several persons were busy in spreading flax, on a plain, about eighty rods from the house of Mr. Thomas Rice, and a number of boys with them, a number of Indians, seven or ten, suddenly rushed down a woody hill near by, and knocked on the head Nahor Rice, the youngest boy, and seized Asher and Adonijah, sons of Mr. Thomas Rice, and two others, Silas and Timothy, sons of Mr. Edmund Rice, and carried them away to Canada. The persons engaged in spreading flax, escaped safely to the house. Asher, in about four years, returned, being redeemed by his father. His brother, Adonijah, grew up in Canada, and married there. Silas and Timothy mixed with the Indians; lost their mother tongue, had Indian wives, and children by them; and lived at Cagnawaga. The last became the third of the six chiefs of the Cagnawagas, and was known among them by the name of Oughtsorongoughton. See *Whitney's History of Worcester*, p. 121—123.]

[‡ Oneydes, Onondages, Cayonges, Senneches, and Macquaus in the copy. *Vol.* 1 *N. H. Hist. Soc. col.*]

Levinston from Connecticut, were commissionated to give them a visit, and strengthen the alliance with them, which they did to so good effect, that they promised to take up the hatchet, whenever the Governor of New-York should desire it. But why so fair an opportunity was lost, when the interest of New-England lay bleeding, was matter of surprise and admiration to some, of censures and reflections to others. The only account we can give of it is the vast trade between the Dutch and Indians; for the sake of which, that government have always chosen to restrain their Indians from joining with us in our wars. In the midst of war there seems a secret league between them and the Governor of Canada, not to suffer the least breach to be made on one another by any of their Indians.

But although my design was only to remark the barbarous insults of those bloody Pagans on the territories of New-England; yet I think it not improper to take a short view of their descent on Newfoundland, considering the nearness of its situation, and that several of our Eastward Indians were confederate with them.

On the 18th of August, one hundred and forty French and Indians, in two sloops, early in the morning, from Placentia, arrived at Bonavista and surprised the Pembroke Galley, the society of Pool, and a lesser vessel, in which was thirty ton of oil: Capt. Gill of Charlestown was there at the same time, in a ship of fourteen guns, with twenty-four men. He was furiously attacked, but defended himself with great courage and good conduct, from divers bold and desperate attempts which they made upon him. When he had beat them at small arms, they then brought the Galley to bear upon him with her great guns, which he returned in the like language. They then set fire to the Society, with an expectation of burning him alive; but the wind proving contrary, drove her ashore on a rock, where she soon

consumed. They then set the lesser ship on fire, which burnt to such a degree by reason of the oil, that it would soon have devoured him, had not the buoy-rope of the anchor got between the rudder and the stern, and kept off the blazing war from him. The situation of the fort was such, as that it was not able to protect the town of St. Johns, upon which it was wholly laid in ashes, the inhabitants being mostly fled into the woods. The loss that Capt. Gill sustained in the whole encounter, was but one man slain and two wounded.

I now return to the westward, where, on the 25th of October the enemy did some mischief. Lancaster was alarmed, and the alarm was the means of the untimely death of the Rev. Mr. Gardiner,* their worthy pastor. Several of the inhabitants who belonged to the garrison, were wearied by hard travelling the day before, in pursuit of the enemy. This caused this good man out of pity and compassion, to watch that night himself; accordingly he went into the box which lay over the flanker, where he staid till late in the night: but being cold, (as was supposed) he was coming down to warm himself, when one between sleeping and waking, or surprised through excess of fear, fired upon him, as he was coming out of the watch-house, where no man could rationally expect the coming of an enemy.

Mr. Gardiner, although he was shot through the back, came to the door and bid them open it, for he was wounded. No sooner did he enter, but he fainted away: As he came to himself, he asked who it was that shot him, and when they told him, he prayed God to forgive him, and forgave him himself, believing that he did it not on purpose; and with a composed frame of spirit, desired them that bewailed him not to weep, but pray for him and his flock. He comforted his sorrowful spouse, and expired within an hour.

[* Mr. Andrew Gardiner, who graduated at Harvard College in 1696, and was invited to settle in the ministry, at Lancaster, in May, 1701, but probably had not been ordained. *Vol.* 1 *N. H. Hist. Soc. col.*]

The Indian harvest being now gathered, and the winter approaching, the enemy, like beasts of prey, retired to their private cells: but concluding it necessary to discover their head quarters, it was resolved that Col. Hilton, with two hundred and seventy men, should go to Narridgewalk* with twenty days' provision: at which time the country appeared like a frozen lake, the snow four feet deep; yet neither officers nor soldiers were in the least discouraged; but when they came unto the fort, could not discover the least step of an Indian, only a few deserted wigwams, and a large chapel, with a vestry at the end of it which they set on fire.

The winter season requiring snow shoes, an express was sent Col. Patrick to supply the frontiers therewith, which he no sooner forwarded, but the express was intercepted by a Montreal scout, who robbed him of fifty pounds that he had in his pocket, which at their return they presented to the Governor, who converted it into a bowl, and called it by the name of the New-England gift.

Early in the spring, Capt. Larraby was ordered to cruise on the shore of L'Accadia, and defeat the French from their fishery, having Whale-boats to attend him: Capt. Fowle was also dispatched in a sloop of war, who on the northward of Cape Sables took a small vessel formerly belonging to the English, which had cattle and sheep on board her. Soon after he took five prisoners at Port Rosua,† and three at L'Have, burnt a few houses, and killed some cattle; but the inhabitants were so miserably poor, and their circumstances so desperate, that they rather chose to be prisoners among the English, than at liberty among the French.

May the 4th, 1705, Capt. Hill, who was formerly taken at

[* Norridgewock. This name has been subject to as many methods of spelling as its neighbor, Androscoggin. It was an ancient celebrated Indian town, on the Kennebeck River, about 84 miles from its mouth, by the course of the river. *Sullivan*, p. 31—32.]

[† Probably Port-Roseway.]

Wells and carried to Canada, was from thence sent by Monsieur Vaudriell, to concert the exchange of prisoners, who advised of one hundred and seventeen that were then with him, and about seventy more with the Indians; which unexpected news was very reviving to the dejected spirits of their mournful friends, considering the many deaths they escaped in their captivity.

Upon the advice hereof, Capt. Levinston was sent to Canada, to capitulate about the matter, and after him Capt. Appleton, and Mr. Sheldon (with seventy prisoners of theirs) who went by water, having ordered a scout before of ten men by land to advise of their coming, that so our prisoners might be in readiness. But the Jesuits and Friars had by this time so influenced the Governor, as to cause him to break his word of honor, pretending, that as the Indians were independent and a free born people, that he had no power to demand any captives of them; when at the same time they were so much in subjection and vassalage unto him, that they never formed an enterprise without him, neither did they dare to attempt it without his knowledge.

Now, although the expense and industry of our commissioners in this affair was very great, yet notwithstanding they could not obtain above sixty captives out of one hundred and eighty-seven, which was scandalously base and dishonorable in that government.

The descent that the enemy again made on Newfoundland, was more terrible and surprising than the former; for on January 21st, at break of day, Monsieur Supercass, Governor of Placentia, came with five hundred and fifty French from Canada, Port-Royal, and other places adjacent, and a company of Salvages, of whom Assacombuit was chief; who ransacked and laid waste all the southern settlements in a few days, and then

fell on St. John's, where in the space of two hours all were become prisoners of war, excepting those in the castle and fort. The night before the enterprise, they were obliged to lie on a bed of snow, six feet deep, for fear of being discovered, which caused such cold and numbness in the joints of several, that the General vowed revenge, and accordingly executed his resentment, for that he destroyed all before him, and gave no quarter for some time, till Monsieur Boocore, who was a gentleman of more humanity, did interpose and abate his fury. The number that they took alive was one hundred and forty, whom they sent unto the garrison, not out of pity to the prisoners, but with a design to starve the whole. After that, they laid close seige to the garrison and fort, which continued thirty days without relief; (excepting three who made their escape to the former, and seventeen to the latter.) In the fort were only forty men under the command of Capt. Moody, and twelve in the castle under Capt. Lotham, who behaved themselves with such bravery, that they slighted all manner of tenders that were made them of surrendering, with the highest contempt imaginable.

Upon this, the enemy committed many barbarities, and sent several threatenings; but they had no influence either on officers or soldiers, for they plied their bombs and mortar-pieces to so good effect, that they killed several, and lost but three in the whole engagement.

After this, they steered to Consumption Bay, having first demolished all the English settlements in Trinity and Bonavista, where they burnt their stages and boats, and laid a contribution besides upon the inhabitants. From thence they went to Carboneer, where they met with some repulse, and finding their provision fall short, they sent a further number unto the fort, reserving the most skilful and able fishermen for themselves until the succeeding spring.

During this time, our frontiers at home were greatly infested. At Spruce Creek, in Kittery, they killed five and took as many more; among the slain was Mrs. Hoel, a gentlewoman of good extract and education; but the greatest sufferer was Enoch Hutchins, in the loss of his wife and children. Three weeks after, John Rogers was dangerously wounded, and at a little distance, James Toby was shot by another party. From thence they went westward, and took a Shallop which belonged to Pascataqua. Our seacoast at the same time was disrested by privateers, particularly by Capt. Crepoa, who notwithstanding our cruisers that were then out, took seven vessels, besides a sloop, and carried them all to Port Royal, excepting the latter, which was retaken by Capt. Harris at Richmond's Island.

About the same time Michael Royal, a fisherman belonging to Marblehead, as he went ashore for wood off Cape Sables, was barbarously cut in pieces. On the 15th of October following, eighteen Indians fell on Cape Neddick, where they took four children of Mr. Stover's at a little distance from the garrison. The youngest not able to travel, was knocked on the head, the other three were carried captive; but being attacked by Lieut. March, and losing one of their company, they killed a second child in way of revenge.*

During the winter, little or no spoil was done on any of our frontiers; the enemy being so terrified by reason of snow-shoes (which most of our men were skillful in) that they never attempted coming at such a season after.

But as the spring came on, April 27th, 1706, a small body fell on an out-house in Oyster River, where they killed eight, and wounded two. The garrison which stood near, had not a man in it at that time; but the women, who assumed an Ama-

[*On the same day, Thomas Sawyer and his son Elias Sawyer, and John Bigle were taken captive from Lancaster.—*Harrington's Cent. Serm.*]

zonian courage, seeing nothing but death before them, advanced the watch-box, and made an alarm. They put on hats, with their hair hanging down, and fired so briskly that they struck a terror in the enemy, and they withdrew without firing the house, or carrying away much plunder. The principal sufferer at this time, was John Wheeler, who thinking them to be friend Indians, unhappily fell under their fury. Two days after, Mr. Shapleigh and his son, as they were travelling through Kittery, were ambushed by another party, who killing the father, took the son and carried him to Canada. In their march, they were so inhumanely cruel, that they bit off the tops of his fingers, and to stagnate the blood, seared them with hot tobacco pipes.

June the 1st, Mr. Walker, being loaded with provisions from Connecticut, was chased by a French privateer, which to avoid, he ran ashore in his boat; and as he hastened to Rhode-Island, made an alarm all round. The Government there was so expeditious, that in a few hours (by beat of drum) one hundred men well equipped, voluntarily entered on board of two sloops, under the command of Major Wanton and Captain Paine, who next day became masters of the prize, wherein were thirty-seven men under the command of Capt. Ferrel, bound for Port Royal, but in his way was obliged to cruise on the New-England coast.

The year after they did another brave exploit, in taking a sloop from Placentia, with four guns, four Patteraroes, and forty-nine men, which undoubtedly prevented great mischief that otherwise would have befallen us.

Upon the advice of many English captives that were now at Port Royal, Capt. Rouse of Charlestown was sent with a flag of truce; who after an unusual stay, returned but with seventeen, saying that the French detained them. He fell under a severe suspicion of carrying on a secret trade with the enemy, which grew upon his second going, when he brought but seven back with him.

The General Assembly which was then sitting, with the country throughout, were thrown hereby into a great ferment, considering the vast charge and effusion of blood. He was indicted for traitorous correspondence with the enemy. Others at the same time, like snakes in the grass, or moles under ground, were as industrious to evade it, and to put a different gloss on all his actions.

——*Quid non Mortalia pectora Cogis*
Auri sacra fames?

And yet it has been generally remarked from the beginning of time here, that those who have been Indian traders, and seemingly got much, have sensibly decayed, and many of them become victims to their bloody cruelty. A proclamation was issued forth to apprehend all such as were suspected: several hereupon were seized, and others vehemently suspected, who did what they could to extenuate the crime, and to get the indictment altered from that of Treason, unto High Misdemeanor. At last a court of Oyer and Terminer was called, and fines were imposed, besides the prison fees.

How far these unhappy Measures tended to increase our troubles, is obvious to an impartial eye, if we consider how they supplied the enemy with powder, shot, iron, nails, and other materials of war.

The advice of Colonel Schuyler from time to time was of eminent service unto the country, who advised of two hundred and seventy men that were coming upon us. Their first descent was on Dunstable, the third of July, where they fell on a garrison that had twenty troopers posted in it,* who by their negligence

[*They had been ranging the woods in the vicinity, and came towards night to this garrison; apprehending no danger, turned their horses loose upon the interval, piled their arms and harness in the house, and began a carousal, to exhilerate their spirits after the fatigues of the day. A party of Indians had lately arrived in the vicinity, and on that day had designed to attack both Wells' and Galusha's garrisons. One of their number had been stationed to watch each of these houses, to see that no assistance approached, and no alarm was given. A short time previous to the approach of the cavalry, the Indian stationed at Wells' had retired to his party, and

and folly, keeping no watch, suffered them to enter, which tended to the destruction of one half of their number. After that a small party attacked Daniel Galusha's† house, who held them play for some time, till the old man's courage failed; when on surrendering himself, he informed them of the state of the garrison, how that one man was killed and only two men and a boy left, which caused them to rally anew, and with greater courage than before. Upon which one with the boy got out on the back side, leaving only Jacob to fight the battle, who for sometime defended himself with much bravery; but overpowered with force, and finding none to assist him, was obliged to quit it and make his escape as well as he could; but before he got far, the enemy laid hold of him once and again, and yet by much struggling he rescued himself. Upon this they burnt the

reported that all was safe. At sunset, a Mr. Cumings and his wife went out to milk their cows, and left the gate open. The Indians, who had advanced undiscovered, started up, shot Mrs. Cumings dead upon the spot, and wounded her husband. They then rushed through the open gate into the house, with all the horrid yells of conquering savages, but stared with amazement on finding the room filled with soldiers merrily feasting. Both parties were completely amazed, and neither acted with much propriety. The soldiers, so suddenly interrupted in their jovial entertainment, found themselves called to fight, when entirely destitute of arms, and incapable of obtaining them. The greater part were panic-struck, and unable to fight or fly. Fortunately, all were not in this sad condition: some six or seven courageous souls, with chairs, clubs, and whatever they could seize upon, furiously attacked the advancing foe. The Indians who were as much surprised as the soldiers, had but little more courage than they, and immediately took to their heels for safety; thus yielding the house, defeated by one quarter their number of unarmed men. The trumpeter, who was in the upper part of the house at the commencement of the attack, seized his trumpet and began sounding an alarm, when he was shot dead by an Indian on the stairway. He was the only one of the party killed.

The savages, dissappointed in this part of their plan, immediately proceeded to Galusha's, two miles distant; took possession of, and burnt it. One woman only escaped. Had the company at Wells', armed and immediately pursued, they might probably have prevented this disaster; but they spent so much time in arming and getting their horses, that the enemy had an opportunity to perpetrate the mischief and escape uninjured.

The woman above mentioned, when the Indians attacked the house, sought refuge in the cellar, and concealed herself under a dry cask. After hastily plundering the house, and murdering, as they supposed, all who were in it, the Indians set it on fire and immediately retired. The woman in this critical situation, attempted to escape by the window, but found it too small: she however succeeded in loosening the stones till she had opened a hole sufficient to admit of her passage, and with the house in flames over her head, she forced herself out, and crawled into the bushes, not daring to rise for fear she should be discovered. In the bushes she lay concealed until the next day, when she reached one of the neighboring garrisons.

Cumings, at Wells' garrison, had his arm broken, but was so fortunate as to reach the woods while the Indians were engaged in the house. That night he lay in a swamp in the northerly part of what at present constitutes the town of Tyngsborough, about one quarter of a mile west of the great road as it now runs, and a few rods south of the state line. The next day he arrived at the garrison near the residence of the late Col. Tyng.—*Farmer & Moore's Collections, vol. II. pp.* 303, 304.]

[† Galeucia's in the copy.]

house;* and next day, about forty more fell on Amesbury, where they killed eight; two, at the same time, who were at work in a field, hearing an outcry hastened to their relief; but being pursued, ran to a deserted house in which were two flankers, where each of them found an old gun, but neither of them fit for service; and if they were, had neither powder nor shot to load with: however, each took a flanker, and made the best appearance they could, by thrusting the muzzles of their guns outside the port-holes, crying aloud, "here they are, but do not fire till they come nearer;" which put the enemy into such a fright that they instantly drew off.

From thence they went to Kingston, where they killed and wounded several cattle. About the same time, Joseph English,† who was a friend Indian, going from Dunstable to Chelmsford, with a man and his wife on horse-back, was shot dead, the woman taken, but the man made his escape. On the 8th of July, five Indians, a little before night, fell on an out-house in Reading, where they surprized a woman with eight children; the former with the three youngest were instantly dispatched, and the other they carried captive; but one of the children unable to travel, they knocked on the head, and left in the swamp concluding it was dead, but a while after it was found alive. The neighbourhood being alarmed, got ready by the morning and coming on their track, pursued them so near that they

[* Wells' garrison, which was in the southerly part of Dunstable, N. H. about half a mile from the state line, near James Baldwin's house, on a place known by the name of the Blanchard farm, east of the great road to Boston. Galusha's, was about two miles south-west of this, on Salmon brook, at a place formerly called Glasgow, on which Henry Turrell now lives.]

[† Jo English, as he was called, was much distinguished for his attachment to the white inhabitants. In a preceding war with the Indians, he had been taken prisoner from the vicinity of Dunstable and carried to Canada, from whence, by his shrewdness and sagacity, he effected his escape, with one English captive, and returned to his friends in Dunstable. The Indians had for a long time endeavoured to retake him, and he was peculiarly obnoxious to them; and at the time abovementioned, while he was accompanying Capt. Butterfield and his wife on a visit to their friends, they pursued him, and just as he was upon the point of gaining a thicket, they shot him through the thigh, which brought him to the ground, and they afterwards dispatched him with their tomahawks. *Vol.* 1 *N. H. Hist. Soc. col.*]

recovered three of the children, and put the enemy in such a terror that they not only quitted their plunder and blankets, but the other captive also. Several strokes were afterwards made on Chelmsford, Sudbury and Groton, where three soldiers as they were going to public worship, were way-laid by a small party, who killed two and made the other a prisoner.

At Exeter, a company of French Mohawks, who some time kept lurking about Capt. Hilton's garrison, took a view of all that went in and out: and observing some to go with their scythes to mow, laid in ambush till they laid by their arms, and while at work, rushed on at once, and by intercepting them from their arms, killed four, wounded one, and carried three captive; so that out of ten, two only escaped. A while after, two of those that were taken, viz. Mr. Edward Hall, and Samuel Myals, made their escape; but the fatigue and difficulty that they went through, (besides the terror and fear they were under of being taken) was almost incredible; for in three weeks together, they had nothing to subsist on except a few lilly roots, and the rhines of trees.

Several of our captives still remaining among the French and Indians, occasioned Mr. Sheldon's going a second time to Canada with a flag of truce, who at his return brought forty-five, and had a prospect of many more, but was prevented by the Jesuits.

As to the treatment of our captives with the French, it was as different and as various as their tempers and constitutions. Some were mild and pleasant, while others were morose and sordid; but the Indians might as well alter their complexions as their constitutions; for scarce a day passed without some act of cruelty, insomuch that all were under a constant martyrdom between fear of life and terror of death.

It would be an endless task to enumerate the various suffer-

ings that many groaned under, by long marching with heavy burdens through heat and cold; and when ready to faint for want of food, they were frequently knocked on the head: teeming women, in cold blood, have been ript open; others fastened to stakes, and burnt alive; and yet the finger of God did eminently appear in several instances, of which I shall mention a few. As

First. Of Rebekah Taylor, who after her return from captivity, gave me the following account, viz.

That when she was going to Canada, on the back of Montreal river, she was violently insulted by Sampson, her bloody master, who without any provocation was resolved to hang her; and for want of a rope, made use of his girdle, which when he had fastened about her neck, attempted to hoist her up on the limb of a tree (that hung in the nature of a gibbet,) but in hoisting her, the weight of her body broke it asunder, which so exasperated the cruel tyrant that he made a second attempt, resolved that if he failed in that to knock her on the head; but before he had power to effect it, Bomaseen came along, who seeing the tragedy on foot, prevented the fatal stroke.

A second was a child of Mrs. Hannah Parsons, of Wells, whom the Indians, for want of food, had determined to roast alive, but while the fire was kindling, and the sacrifice preparing, a company of French Mohawks came down the river in a canoe with three dogs, which somewhat revived these hungry monsters, expecting to make a feast upon one of them. So soon as they got ashore, the child was offered in exchange; but despising the offer, they tendered a gun, which was readily accepted, and by that means the child was preserved.

A third was Samuel Butterfield, who being sent to Groton as a soldier, was with others attacked as they were gathering in the harvest; his bravery was such, that he killed one and

wounded another, but being overpowered by strength, was forced to submit; and it happened that the slain Indian was a sagamore, and of great dexterity in war, which caused matter of lamentation, and enraged them to such a degree that they vowed the utmost revenge; some were for whipping him to death, others for burning him alive; but differing in their sentiments, they submitted the issue to the Squaw Widow, concluding she would determine something very dreadful, but when the matter was opened, and the fact considered, her spirits were so moderate as to make no other reply than, *Fortune L'guerre.* Upon which some were uneasy, to whom she answered, "if by killing him, you can bring my husband to life again, I beg you to study what death you please; but if not, let him be my servant;" which he accordingly was, during his captivity, and had favor shewn him.

The state of affairs still looking with a melancholy aspect, it was resolved for a more vigorous prosecution of the war, to grant the following encouragement, viz:—

To regular forces under pay	£10 00	*per Scalp.*
To volunteers in service	20 00	
To volunteers without pay	50 00	
To any troop or company that go to the relief of any town or garrison	30 00	

Over and above was granted the benefit of plunder, and captives of women and children under twelve years of age, which at first seemed a great encouragement, but it did not answer what we expected. The charge of war was by this time so great, that every Indian we had killed or taken, cost the country at least a thousand pounds.

But while they continued in great bodies, they did not commit the like spoil and rapine (in proportion) as they did in

smaller. August the 10th, they slew William Pearl of Dover, and a little after, took Nathaniel Tibbits. But of all the Indians that was ever known since King Philip, never any appeared so cruel and inhumane as Assacambuit, that insulting monster, who by the encouragement of the French, went over to Paru, and being introduced to the king, lifted up his hand in the most arrogant manner imaginable, saying, "this hand of mine has slain one hundred and fifty of your Majesty's enemies, within the territories of New-England," &c. Which bold and impudent speech was so pleasing to that bloody monarch, that he forthwith knighted him, and ordered eight livres a day to be paid him during life; which so exalted the wretch (having his hands so long imbrued in innocent blood.) as at his return, to exert a sovreignty over the rest of his brethren, by murdering one, and stabbing another, which so exasperated those of their relations, that they sought revenge, and would instantly have executed it, but that he fled his country, and never returned after.

January 21st, Colonel Hilton with two hundred and twenty men visited the frontiers anew, but the mildness of the winter prevented his going so far as he expected: however, in his return, near Black Point, he came on an Indian track which he pursued, and killed four. At the same time he took a Squaw alive with a Papoose at her breast, which he preserved, and she was of singular service in conducting him to a body of eighteen, who lodged on a neck of land; about break of day he surprized them as they lay asleep, and slew all but one whom they kept a prisoner: but it is strange to think by what winged mercury reports are often carried. Plutarch, I remember, and other writers, have given surprising instances of things transacted at such a distance, as have been inconsistent with any human conveyance. Witness that of Domitian, two thousand five

hundred miles in the space of twenty-four hours; and of William the conqueror, the news of whose death was conveyed from Roan to Rome the day he died, which as historians mention, was ——*prius pene quam nunciari possit.* And to my certain knowledge, on the very morning that Col. Hilton did this exploit, it was publickly talked of at Portsmouth in every article, and with little or no variation, although ninety miles distance.

But all this while we were only cutting off the branches; the French in Canada, and Nova Scotia, who supply the Indians with all neecssaries for the war, were the root of all our woe.

Wherefore, it was resolved to make an enterprize on Nova Scotia, under the command of Colonel March, with two regiments, viz.

Col. Wainwright, Lt. Col. Appleton, Major Walton, Commanders.	of the red.	Col. Hilton, Lt. Col. Wanton, Major Spencer, Commanders.	of the blue.

In three transport ships, five brigantines, and fifteen sloops, with whaleboats answerable, having her Majesty's ship the Deptford, and the Province Galley to cover them.

March 13th, 1707, they sailed from Nantasket, and in a fortnight after, arrived at Fort Royal gut, where they landed on both sides of the river, which the enemy observing, made an alarm and retired to the fort with what substance they could get.

Monsieur Supercass, who was the governor, upon rallying his forces together, held a short skirmish, but finding too warm a reception, (his horse being shot under him) was obliged to retreat. A council of war being called, it was resolved that the artillery should be landed, and their lines forced: but through the unfaithfulness of some, and cowardly pretensions of others, little was done in annoying the enemy, save killing their cattle, burning their mills and out-houses: whereas if the officers on

board her Majesty's ship had been true and faithful, matters had succeeded to good advantage. But instead of pressing on, they did rather clog and hinder the affair: For, by crafty insinuations, they afterwards obtained a second council, which the general not so well weighing as he ought, proved the overthrow of the whole design. They voted to return; whereas if they had only kept their ground, and not fired a gun, the enemy must of necessity have surrendered or have starved. This was so surprising, that the whole country was under an amazing ferment, and the commander so grossly reflected on, that his spirits sunk, and he became of little service ever after: yet to give him his character, he was a man of good courage, and a true lover of his country. But the business that he undertook, was too weighty for his shoulders to bear. So soon as his excellency was apprized hereof, (who had the honor and interest of his country much at heart) he sent strict orders to stay them; and another ship of war, with two companies of fresh men to reinforce them; Col. Hutchinson, Col. Townsend, and Mr. Leverett were appointed commissioners, to give greater vigor, but the number of deserters, and disaffected officers overthrew the whole affair. However a second attempt was made, which the enemy perceiving, called in their auxiliaries both of French and Indians from Menis, Chignecto,* and all other places adjacent. A privateer and some other vessels had also arrived since the withdraw of our forces. By their assistance, the enemy had not only strengthened the fort, but secured their lines; so that nothing could be attempted but by a few encounters, in which Major Walton behaved himself with much bravery, being the only field officer then on shore; who engaged them some time, and at last put them to flight, killing and wounding several, among whom was the Field-Major. Those that fell on our side were sixteen, and

[* Sachenecto, in copy.]

as many more wounded. Our frontiers at home were as much disrested as ever: May 22d, they took two at Oyster River, and on June 12th, killed one at Groton; after that they slew William Carpenter of Kittery, with his whole family. July 8th, they way laid a cart with two men, as they were going from Dover to Oyster River, whom they shot dead. Captain Sumersby, who was there with his troop, regained the most of the plunder that they took. About the same time, Stephen Gilman and Jacob his brother, as they were riding from Exeter to Kingston, were ambushed by another party. The first had his horse shot under him, and was in danger of being scalped before he could get clear. The other brother had several shot through his clothes and one that grazed his belly; his horse also was wounded, yet he defended himself on foot and got into the garrison.

At Casco, the Indians intercepted a fishing boat as she was sailing between the islands, in which were five men, three of whom they killed, and took the other two. August the 10th, they way-laid the road between York and Wells, and as four horsemen were riding in company with Mrs. Littelfield, who had the value of sixty pounds with her, were all slain except one, who made his escape. Another company falling on Marlborough, encompassed two as they were at work in the field; one which got clear, and the neighborhood meeting together, engaged them so smartly, that the enemy gave way, leaving 24 packs behind; which so exasperated their spirits with the loss they sustained, that they slew the captive which they had taken. On our side two were slain, and two wounded.*

[* On the 18th of August, 1707, as two women in Northborough, Ms. were out a short distance from the fort gathering herbs, the Indians discovered and pursued them. One Mrs. Mary Fay got safe into the fort; the other, Mary Goodenow, a young and unmarried woman, was taken and carried over the brook into the edge of Marlborough, and there, a little south of the great road, and nigh to Sandy Hill, she was killed and scalped. The enemy were pursued and overtaken in what is now Sterling, where an obstinate engagement took place, in which John Farrar and Richard Singletary, were killed. The Indians at length fled, leaving some plunder and some of their packs, in one of which the scalp of Mary Goodenow was found. *See Whitney's Hist. of Worcester, p.* 274.]

At Exeter, one was killed near the meeting-house; and two days after, another * at Kingston, but the most afflicting stroke that befel us this season was at Oyster River, where thirty French Mohawks, who appeared like so many furies with their naked bodies painted like blood, and observing some at work in hewing of timber, and others driving a team, they fell violently upon them with such hideous noise and yelling as made the very woods to echo. At the first shot, they killed seven, and mortally wounded another, upon which Capt. Chesley, (who had signally behaved himself in many encounters) with a few that were left, fired on them with great vigor and resolution, and for some time gave a check to their triumphing; but the enemy being too powerful, soon overcame him, to the great lamentation of all that knew him.

It being now the height of Indian harvest, they dispersed themselves into all parts, and did considerable mischief; but having something more than ordinary in view, they beset Winter Harbor, and on September 21st, with one hundred and fifty men, in fifty canoes, attempted the taking of two shallops as they lay at anchor, in which were Capt. Austin, Mr. Harmon, Sergeant Cole, and five men more with a boy, who perceiving their intention, suffered them to paddle till they had got near, and then fired, which put them into great confusion. But they soon recovered themselves, and fired on our men with such resolution, as made them to quit one of their boats by cutting their roads and lashings; and no sooner had they taken possession thereof, but they got their mainsail atrip before that our men could get up theirs half mast high, and then put out their oars, which they joined with paddles on each side; but having no fargood, and their boat a dull sailor, ours gained on them so much, that they got twelve or thirteen canoes ahead, with fishing lines to tow

[* Henry Elkins, Sept. 15, 1707.]

them. But a breeze springing up, and the enemy making too near the wind (for want of a fargood) came to stays several times, in so much that they fell a quarter of a mile astern. But the rest of the canoes kept on firing, and our men on them for a considerable time together. The only man we lost was Benjamin Daniel, who was shot through the bowels, soon after they came to sail; at his fall he said, "*I am a dead man!*" yet recovering himself a little, added "*Let me kill one before I die!*" but he had not strength to fire.

The engagement held about three hours, in which the English spent about five pounds of powder, and when the enemy ceased their chase, they had not above a quarter of a pound left. The Indians were so bold and daring, as to attempt to take hold of the blades of their oars, as they were rowing. The number of them that fell was then unknown, because of a continued cloud of smoke; but it was affirmed, that nine were slain, and twice as many wounded. After this, a small scout appeared at Berwick, where they killed two, as they returned from worship; upon which, some of the inhabitants, who were acquainted with their walk, lay in wait, and making the first discovery, fired to good advantage; which put them into so great a consternation, that they dropped their packs, in which were three scalps, supposed to be some of those which a little before, were taken at Oyster River. The winter season afforded a little respite; but on April 22, 1708, Lieut. Littlefield of Wells, with Joseph Winn, as they were travelling to York, were surrounded by a small body; the latter made his escape, but the other was carried to Quebec, who, being a skilful engineer, especially in water works, did them great service.

About this time, eight hundred French and Indians were forming a desperate design against us, but on a division among themselves, fell short of the mischief they designed us. How-

ever, one hundred and fifty, on August 29th, at break of day, fell on Haverhill, and passing by the garrisons got into the very centre of the town, before they were discovered. They attempted to fire the Meeting-House, and after that, did burn several houses near it. Major Turner, Capt. Price, and Capt. Gardner, were happily there at that time, and rallied together what forces they could; but most of their men being posted in remote garrisons, were unable to assist them. However, with such as they could get together, they faced the enemy with much bravery, and in less than an hour, put them all to flight, leaving nine of their dead, and carrying off several that were wounded. But the slain on our side were thrice as many, by reason of the surprize that they at first were in; among whom, was the Rev. Mr. Rolfe,* the worthy minister of that town, with Capt. Wainwright.†

A while after, James Hays, of Amesbury, was taken, and one at Brookfield; they also killed Robert Read and David Hutchins of Kittery.

Colonel Hilton again marched toward their head quarters with one hundred and seventy men at Amassaconty, Pigwacket, and other places adjacent; but after a long and tedious march, could make no discovery.

On April 12th, 1709, a scout fell on Deerfield, and took Mehuman Hinsdell, as he was driving a cart, which was the second time of his captivity. And on May 6th, another party within three miles of Exeter, surprized several as they were going to a saw-mill, among whom were Mr. William Moody, Samuel Stevens, and two of Mr. Jeremiah Gilman's sons, whom they carriid captive.‡ A few days after, Capt. Wright of North-

[* Rev. Benjamin Rolfe graduated at Harvard College, 1684; was ordained in Haverhill, in Jan. 1694.—*Saltonstall's Hist. Haverhill.*]

[† October 26, 1708, E. Field was killed in Deerfield.]

[‡ Soon after, Bartholomew Stephenson was killed at Oyster River. In May, this year, Lieut. John Wells and John Burt were lost in a skirmish with the enemy. They belonged to Deerfield.—*Appendix to Williams' Narrative.*]

ampton, with several English, and two Natick Indians, adventuring to the lake, within forty miles of fort La' Motte, killed and wounded two or three of the French Mohawks; and on their return up French river, met with another body of the enemy in canoes, on whom they fired, and overset, killed and wounded several of them. In this company, was William Moody before mentioned, who being now alone with but one Indian in a canoe, was encouraged by the English to kill said Indian, and make his escape. Which he attempted, but overset the canoe in the struggle, and then Moody swam towards the English for relief. Whereupon, Lieut. John Wells, with one or two more, ran down the bank and helped him ashore. In the mean time, a number of the enemy came to the bank, and wounded John Strong, and killed the Lieutenant, who had been a man of very good courage, and well spirited to serve his country, and so the loss of him was much lamented. Hereupon, Moody unhappily resigned himself again into the enemy's hands; who most inhumanly tortured him, by fastening him unto a stake, and roasting him alive, whose flesh they afterwards devoured. Our men considering they were so far in the Indians' country, and like to be encompassed, were forced to make a running fight. So scattering in the woods, lost John Burt, who was supposed to perish with hunger.

The town of Deerfield, which had suffered so much spoil before by Monsieur Artell, was, on June 23d, obliged to a new encounter by Monsieur Ravell, his son-in-law, who, with one hundred and eighty French and Indians, expected to lay all desolate. But the town being alarmed, they valiantly resisted, with the loss only of one man and another wounded.* After that, the enemy killed two at Brookfield, one at Wells, and took another captive.

[*Joseph Clesson and John Armes were taken from Deerfield, June 22, 1709, and the next day Jonathan Williams was killed and Matthew Clesson mortally wounded. Lieut. Thomas Taylor and Isaac Moulton, were also wounded, but recovered.—*Vol.* 1 *N. H. Hist. Soc. col.*]

Col. Vetch, who was now in England, and well acquainted with the continent of America, was very sensible that the reduction of Canada was of absolute necessity, for subduing the Indians; upon which, he laid a plan of the whole country before some of the chief ministers of state, representing every thing in its true light. Gen. Nicholson added all his interest to the motion made by Col. Vetch, and between them they obtained a promise for sufficient forces both by sea and land, for the conquest of Canada. They arrived early in the spring, with her Majesty's royal commands and instructions to the governors of the several provinces, to furnish their respective quotas. To such as should offer volunteers, they presented a good firelock, cartouch-box, flints, ammunition, a coat, hat and shirt, with an assurance of her Majesty's princely favour unto all such as should distinguish themselves.

Upon this, several the governors contributed their utmost assistance; and considering that New-York (with the adjacent places) lay nearest the Lake, it was resolved that Col. Nicholson should command the several troops, from thence for the attacking of Montreal, while Col. Vetch was preparing to head the forces by sea.

But it often happens in the course of Divine Providence, that when our expectations are at the highest, things come to nothing. For while our forces were ready, and after a vast expense by long waiting, there was a stop at home from any further proceeding for that time; which occasioned Col. Nicholson to embark again for England, to revive the expedition, if possible. But such was the importance of affairs then on foot, that, notwithstanding his indefatigable care and pains, he could not effect it. However, he obtained a sufficient force for the reduction of Port Royal and Nova Scotia, which was so prejudicial to our fishery and merchandize.

Its situation is from 43 to 51 degrees of north latitude, and is part of the Terra Canadensis,* whose bounds are, the Atlantic Ocean on the north, Breton Island and the bay of St. Lawrence to the east, Canada the west, and New-England to the south; whose first seizure was by Sir Sebastian Cabot, for the crown of Great-Britain, in thereign of king Henry the seventh; but lay dormant till the year 1621. In which time, Sir William Alexander, who was then one of the Secretaries of State for Scotland, and afterwards Earl of Sterling, had a patent for it from king James, where he settled a colony and possessed it some years. After that, Sir David Kirk was proprietor as well as governor, but did not enjoy it long; for to the surprize of all thinking men, it was given up unto the French; but Oliver, who had a foreseeing eye of the danger that would ensue unto the British interest, from its being in the hands of so potent an enemy, re-took it in the year 1654, and in no after treaties would be persuaded to surrender it: yet, in 1662, it was again given up, unto the shame and scandal of the English.

Monsieur Maneval was then made governor, who built a small fort at Port-Royal, which lies on the edge of a basin one league broad, and two long, about sixteen foot of water on one side, and six or seven on the other, where the inhabitants drove a considerable trade, and increased much in the adjacent parts, till Sir William Phips in the year 1690, took possession of it in the name of king William and Queen Mary, and administered the oaths of allegiance to the inhabitants; but in a little time they revolted. Col. Nicholson arrived at Boston, July 1st, 1710, in her majesty's ship Dragon, attended by the Falmouth and a bombship, with several transports, British officers, a regiment of marines, provisions, and stores of war; bringing with him her majesty's royal command to the several governors of the Mas-

[* The former name of Canada.—*See Gordon's Geography.*]

sachusetts, New-Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode-Island, to be the assisting in said expedition: who very readily obeyed and suupplied their respective quotas of good effective men, with transports, provision, stores of war, pilots, chaplains, chirurgeons, and all necessaries for the service.

Col. Nicholson was appointed general and commander in chief, who embarked, September 18th, from Nantasket, having with him her majesty's ship the Dragon, commodore Martyn,; the Falmouth, Capt. Riddle: the Lowstaff, Capt. Gordon; the Feversham, Capt. Pastor; the Province Galley, Capt. Southack; the Star Boom, Capt. Rochfort. Besides tenders, transports, hospitals, store-ships, and twenty-five lesser vessels, with open floats for carrying boards and necessaries for the cannon. The land forces consisted of five regiments of foot, whereof Col. Vetch was Adjutant-General, Sir Charles Hobby, Col. Walton, Col. Tailer, Col. Whiting,* and Col. Reading, had commissions sent them from the Queen. The wind proving fair, they all safe arrived in six days, excepting Capt. Taye, who at his entering into the Gut was lost with twenty-five men. Next day, a council of war was held, and several detachments ordered to go ashore, and view the ground for the better landing and pitching their camp. Col. Reading and Col. Rednap, with a company of marines, were appointed on the south side of the river where the fort stood, and supported with one hundred and fifty men more, under the command of Major Mullens; at the same time Col. Vetch, Col. Walton, Major Brown, Capt. Southack, and engineer Forbes, landed on the north side with a company of grenadiers, commanded by Capt. Mascareen. After this, orders were given to land the whole army, which was done by four o'clock, in the afternoon. The fort fired on them, bnt did no

[* Col. Joseph Whiting was from Connecticut. He graduated at Harvard College in 1690.—*MS. of W. Winthrop, Esq.*]

damage. In the evening, the bomb-ship came up, and saluted them with seven shells, which number the fort returned, but without execution. On Thursday, the twenty-sixth, at break of day, the General marched with the army on the south side, the marines in the front, Col. Reading at their head, Col. Whiting's regiment in the centre, sir Charles Hobby in the rear, and Major Levingston with a party of Indians flanking the body in their march. Towards evening, the fort fired very smartly, and so did the French and Indians with their small arms, as they lay behind the fences, who killed three of our men. Upon landing the stores, which were brought up in the night, the enemy discharged several times from the fort. Next day, we mounted some of our guns, and made preparations to bring up the flat bottom boats, with the artillery and ammunition. In the evening, our bomb-ship came up again, and threw thirty-six shells into the fort, which put them into such an amazing terror, as brought to my mind the saying of the poet—

——The slaughter-breathing brass grew hot, and spoke
In flames of lightning, and in clouds of smoke.

After that, Lieut. Col. Ballantine with his company from the fleet, and Col. Goffe from Col. Vetch on the north, with four companies more, came to the General's camp; every regiment was now preparing for further engagements, the cannon being all landed. Lieut. Col. Johnson, with three hundred, was ordered to cut fascines, the boats being constantly employed in going and coming with provisions and all sorts of warlike stores. On Friday, the twenty-ninth, two French officers, a fort major, sergeant and drummer, came out of the fort, with a flag of truce, and a letter from Monsieur Supercast unto the General, respecting some gentlewomen that were terrified at the noise of bombs, praying his protection, and that no incivility or abuse might be done them, which was granted. Next day, the

sentinels of our advanced guards, discovered some of the enemy near the woods, whom they pursued, and took Capt. Allein a prisoner. October 1st, the great guns were placed on three batteries; the mortars were also planted, and twenty-four cohorts at a little distance from the outward barrier of the fort. These all played upon the fort with good effect; the French, at the same time, firing their great guns and mortars upon us. The General sent Col. Tailer and Capt. Abbercromby with a summons to Monsieur Supercast, the governor, to deliver up the fort for the Queen of Great Britain, as her undoubted right. The answer which he returned was soft, only desiring a capitulation with some of the principal officers on each side, which was granted: and thereupon a cessation of arms. Next day the articles of capitulation were drawn up and signed by General Nicholson and the Governor. Upon this, several compliments passed upon each side, which were sent by major Handy the Aid-de-Camp. And on October 5th, the fort was delivered up. Upon which Major Abbercromby, with two hundred men, five captains, and eight subalterns, were ordered to take possession thereof. Capt. Davidson marched first at the head of fifty grenadiers: Major Abbercromby, Capt. Mascareen, Capt. Bartlett, Capt. Adams, and Capt. Lyon, followed in their proper stations; the General, with Col. Vetch on hisright hand, and Sir Charles Hobby on the left; with Monsieur Bonaventure and D'Gouten who were hostages; and then the field officers, with a great many others advanced to the Fort, where the French Governor met them half way on the bridge, with Col. Reading, and Capt. Matthews, who were hostages on our side, and complimented him in these words.

"Sir, I am very sorry for the King, my master, in losing so brave a Fort, and the territories adjoining; but count myself happy in falling into the hands of one so noble and generous,

and now deliver up the keys of the Fort, and all the magazine into your hands, hoping to give you a visit next spring." Which Keys the General immediately delivered to Col. Vetch, as Governor of the Fort, by virtue of her majesty's instructions: whereupon Monsieur Supercast, with his officers and troops marched out with drums beating, colours flying, and guns shouldered; each paying their respects to the General, as they passed by; and then our army entered the Fort, hoisted the union flag and drank the Queen's health, firing all the guns round the Fort, as likewise did the men of war, and other vessels in the River.

On the success of these her Majesty's arms, a day of thanksgiving was solemnized, and agreeable to the articles of capitulation, three vessels were appointed, to transport the soldiers unto France, being two hundred and fifty eight; who besides the common allowance, had a considerable stock of wine, brandy, sugar, spice, and other things, with a plentiful supply for the late Governor. After this, a council of war was called, who resolved, that Major Levinston, with St. Casteen, and three Indian guides, should go to the Governor of Canada, about the exchange of captives, and inform him how matters were here. Their first arrival was at Penobscot, St. Casteen's house, who courteously entertained him. From thence they went to the island of Lett, where they met with fifty canoes, and twice as many Indians, besides women and children; there were two English prisoners, taken a little before at Winterharbor. Two days after, one of the prisoners made his escape from an island where he was hunting with his master, carrying with him both his canoe and gun, and left him behind; which so exasperated the wretch, that when he got from thence, and came where Major Levinston was, he took him by the throat with his hacthet in his hand ready to give him the fatal stroke, had not St. Casteen

interposed; he was however kept prisoner some time, but by the prudent management, and mediation of that gentleman, was released. November the 4th, they took their departure, and next day the Major's canoe overset, drowning one Indian, where he also lost his gun and all he had; after that coming among the ice, their canoe was cut to pieces, which obliged them to travel the rest of the way by land, through horrible deserts and mountains, being often forced to head rivers, and lakes, and sometimes knee deep in snow, scarce passing a day without fording some river or other, which in some places were very rapid and dangerous: and for nineteen days together never saw the sun, the weather being stormy and full of fogs, and the trees so prodigious thick, that in many places it was with difficulty they got through, being mostly spruce, and cedar, and the way under foot so extreme rocky, that it was almost next to an impossibility. At last their provisions were wholly spent, so that for six days together, they had not one morsel to eat but what they scraped off the frozen earth, or off the bark of trees. After these unspeakable difficulties, they arrived at Quebec, December the sixteenth, where they were handsomely entertained, and after some time of refreshment, discoursed about the prisoners. The Governor at their return, sent two gentlemen with them to Boston, to treat on the same head. Six days homeward, his man fell sick, whom he left in a hospital at Troy River.* From thence they came to Chamblee, and brought with them three birch canoes, being thirteen in number, which canoes they carried seventy miles by land through the woods and ice, and then passed in them sixty miles by water, crossing the Lake. They did not arrive at Albany till February 23.

Early in the spring, the enemy appeared as insulting as ever. The first that fell under their cruelty, was Benjamin Preble of

[* Trois Rivieres, in Lower Canada.]

York; but the most affecting and surprising stroke was on Col. Hilton of Exeter, who being deeply engaged in the masting affair, and having several trees of value that were felled fourteen miles up the country, went out with seventeen men to peel off the bark for fear of worms: but not being so careful and watchful as they ought to be, on July the twenty-second * they were ambushed by a body of Indians that were making a descent upon us. They took two and killed three, whereof the Colonel was one; which so surprized the rest, (their guns being wet) that they all ran without firing one shot, or making the least reprisal. This caused the enemy to triumph, and the more because they slew a superior officer, whom they soon scalped, and with utmost revenge struck their hatchets into his brains, leaving a lance at his heart. Next day, about a hundred men went in pursuit of them, but could not discover any. One of the slain was buried on the spot, the other two brought home, where the Col. was decently interred, the several troops in great solemnity attending his corps. He was a gentleman of good temper, courage and conduct, respected and lamented by all that knew him.†

After this, the enemy appeared very bold and insolent in the town, in open streets, where they carried captive four children as they were at play. They then took John Wedgewood, whom they carried to Canada, and after that, killed John Magoon, of whom one thing is remarkable; that three nights before, he dreamed he should be slain by the Indians, at a certain place near his brother's barn; which place he frequently visited with a melancholy countenance, telling several of the neighborhood,

[* June 23, 1710, says the monument over his grave. For a particular memoir of his life, the reader is referred to *Farmer & Moore's Collections*, Vol. I. p. 241, 251.]

[† The same day that Colonel Hilton was killed, a company of Indians who had pretended friendship, who had been peaceably conversant with the inhabitants of Kingston, and seemed to be thirsting after the blood of the enemy, came into the town and ambushing the road, killed Samuel Winslow and Samuel Hontoon; they also took Philip Huntoon and Jacob Gilman, and carried them to Canaada; where after some time, they purchased their own redemption by building a saw-mill for the governor after the English mode.— 1 *Belknap*, 280.]

that within a little while he should be killed, and pointed to the very spot, which fell out accordingly.

After this, they bent their fury westward, where at Waterbury they killed three, and one at Simsbury.* About the same time they fell on Brookfield, and then at Marlborough, where they shot the post as he was riding to Hadley. From thence they went to Chelmsford, where they wounded Major Tyng,† who soon after expired; he was a true lover of his country, and had very often distinguished himself a gentleman of good valor and conduct.‡

August the 2d, between forty and fifty French and Indians fell on Winter-Harbor, where they killed a women and took two men, one whereof was Mr. Pendleton Fletcher, which was the fourth time of his captivity; but he was soon redeemed by the garrison. The week after, they came with a far superior number, killed three, and carried away six, one of the slain they barbarously skinned, and made themselves girdles of his skin The last that fell this season, was Jacob Garland of Cocheco, in his returning from publick worship.

As the winter approached, Colonel Walton was again preparing to traverse the eastern shore with an hundred and seventy men, being the usual season of visiting their clam banks, where one of the enemy very happily fell into his hands as they were encamping on an island; for by the smoke that the English made, they came near, concluding them to be some of their own

[* These towns are in Connecticut.]

[† Major Tyng was wounded by the Indians between Concord and Groton. He was carried to Concord and there died. *Allen's Hist. of Chelmsford.*]

[‡ On the 20th July, 1710, six men, Ebenezer Hayward, John White, Stephen and Benjamin Jennings, John Grosvenor and Joseph Kellogg, were making hay in the meadows, when the Indians, who had been watching an opportunity to surprize them, sprang suddenly upon them, dispatched five of them, and took the other, John White, prisoner. White spying a small company of our people at a distance, jumped from the Indian who held him, and ran to join his friends; but the Indian fired after him, and wounded him in the thigh, by which he fell; but soon recovered and running again, he was again fired at, and received his death wound. This was the last mischief done by the Indians at Brookfield. *Whitney's Hist. of Worcester, p.* 72.]

tribe, but finding themselves deceived, they attempted to escape, which our men prevented. The principal Indian among them was Arruhawikwabemt, chief Sachem of Naridgwalk, an active bold fellow, and one of an undaunted spirit; for when they asked several questions, he made them no reply, and when they threatened him with death, he laughed at it with contempt; upon which they delivered him up unto our friend Indians, who soon became his executioners; but when the squaw saw the destiny of her husband, she became more flexible, and freely discovered where each of them encamped. Upon this, they went further east, and took three more; after that, a certain Indian (thro' discontent) surrendered himself, and informed of Mauxis and several others that were at Penobscot, which our forces had regard unto; and as they returned, went up Saco river, where they took two, and killed five more. Now although the number that we destroyed of them seems inconsiderable to what they did of ours, yet by cold, hunger, and sickness, at least a third of them was wasted since the war begun. For as their number at first (among the several tribes) were computed four hundred and fifty fighting men from Penobscot, westward, they were now reduced to about three hundred, which made the old men weary of the war, and to covet peace. At Winter harbor, they took Corporal Ayers, but soon released him, without offering him the least injury, and then went into the fort with a flag of truce, professing their desire of a pacification. Yet in a few days after, some came in a hostile manner at Cochecho, where they slew Thomas Downs, and three more, while at work in the field. After that, they went to York, where they killed one and wounded another, who afterwards got to the garrison and reported, that as they were fishing in the pond, they were way-laid by five Indians, one of which ran furiously at him and knocked him on the head: after this, they scalped him, and cut him deep in

the neck. He perfectly retained his senses, but made not the least motion or struggle, and by this means saved his life. April, the 29th, the like number appeared at Wells, where they killed two men as they were planting corn. After that, they slew John Church of Cochecho; and then way-laid the people as they returned from publick worship; where they wounded one,* and laid violent hands on another;† but upon firing their guns, some who were before, returned andr escued the prisoner. Upon this, Col. Walton went with two companies of men to Ossipee and Winnepiseogee‡ ponds, being places of general resort for fishing, fowling, and hunting; but saw none, only a few deserted wigwams; for being so closely pursued from one place to another, they removed to other nations, leaving only a few cut-throats behind, which kept the country in a constant alarm.

Col. Nicholson, by the reduction of Port Royal, (which from that time bears the name of Annapolis Royal) was but the more inflamed with the desire of the conquest of Canada. Wherefore upon his return to England, he so effectually represented to the queen and ministry, the great advantage that would accrue unto the crown thereby, that he obtained orders for a sufficient force, both by sea and land, with the assistance of the several colonies. And for the better expediting the same, he set sail the latter end of April, some time before the fleet, with express orders unto the several governors of New-England, New-York, the Jerseys, and Philadelphia, to get their quotas of men in readiness. He arrived at Boston, on June the eighth, 1711, to the great joy and satisfaction of the country. A Congress hereupon was appointed at New-London, being nearest the centre, where the several governors met, with a firm resolution of carrying on the important affairs. On the 25th, the castle

[* John Horn. † Humphrey Foss. ‡ Winnepisseocay in copy.]

gave a signal of ships in the bay, which proved to be the fleet: upon which the troops of guards, and regiment of foot were under arms to receive them, and as his Excellency was not yet returned, the gentlemen of the Council, and others of distinction, went to congratulate them.

Brigadier Hill was Commander in Chief of these her Majesty's troops, and Sir Hovenden Walker, Admiral of the fleet, which consisted of fifteen men of war, forty transports, a battalion of marines, and several regiments under Colonel Kirk, Colonel Segmore, Brigadier Hill, Colonel Disnee, Colonel Windress, Colonel Clayton and Colonel Kaine, with upwards of five thousand men, who arrived safe in health, and encamped on Noddle's Island, where the General invited the Governor to view them under arms. They made the finest appearance that was ever yet seen or known in America. Her Majesty, out of her royal favor, was also pleased to send six ships, with all manner of warlike stores, and a fine train of artillery, with forty horses to draw the same.

It is surprising to think how vigorously this expedition was forwarded, while at Boston, although a town but of eighty years standing, out of a howling wilderness; yet scarce any town in the kingdom (but where stores are laid up before) could have effected the same in so short a time. For in less than a month the whole army was supplied with ten weeks' provision, and all other necessaries that were wanted, besides two regiments of our New-England forces, under the command of Colonel Vetch and Colonel Walton, who embarked at the same time, in transports of our own. On the day that the fleet sailed, Colonel Nicholson set out for New-York, and from thence for Albany, having ordered batteaux before, and every thing else on the inland frontiers, to be in readiness for passing the lake with utmost application. The assembly of New-York raised ten thousand pounds,

besides their proportion of men, the Jerseys five, and although Pennsylvania was not so free of their persons, because of their persuasion, yet were as generous in their purse, as any of the other colonies in carrying on the expedition.

Every thing now looked with a smiling aspect of success, considering the powerful strength by land and sea, the former being as fine regimental troops as any that belonged to the Duke of Marlborough's army; and the latter as serviceable ships as any in the whole navy, which for better satisfaction I have here inserted.

The Swiftzure, to lead with starboard.

The Monmouth, with the larboard tack aboard.

Ships' Names.	Captains.	Men.	Guns.
Swiftzure,	Joseph Soans	444	70
Sunderland,	Gore	365	60
Enterprize,	Smith	190	40
Saphire,	Cockburn	190	40
Windsor,	Artist	365	60
Kingstown,	Winder	365	60
Montague,	Walton	165	60
Devonshire,	Cooper	520	80
Edgar,	*Sr.* H. Walker, *Admiral*	470	70
Humber	Colliford	520	80
Dunkirk,	Rouse	365	60
Feversham,	Paston	196	36
Leopard,	Cook	280	50
Chester,	Mathews	280	54
Monmouth,	Mitchel	440	70
15	15	5351	890

The first harbor they made after they sailed from Nantasket, was Cape Gaspey, from thence they sailed up St. Lawrence

river, until they got up off the Virgin Mountains; the weather then proving foggy, and the wind freshening, the Admiral asked the pilots what was best to do? who advised that as the fleet was on the north shore, it would be best to bring to, with their heads unto the southward, but he obstinately refusing, acted the reverse, and ordered their heads unto the north, which was so astonishing unto the pilots, that one and another foretold their fear (unto the officers) and the destiny that would attend them before the morning; which accordingly fell out. For at one of the clock, nine ships, with 1500 men were all cast ashore, and most of the rest in as eminent danger; but so soon as the former struck, they fired their guns, which gave caution to the rest, some of which wore, and stood off; others were so encompassed by the breakers that they were obliged to bring to their anchors, which was their last refuge; but before the day approached, the wind happily shifted to W. N. W. upon which they cut their cables, and came to sail. Soon after, a council of war was called, but the result not known until the evening, and then the flag bore away to Spanish River, without giving the usual signal; on which many of the windward ships were left behind; but a small man of war was ordered to cruise the next day for those that were left, and to take up such as might be alive among the dead, who were about six hundred. After this, they made towards the fleet, but were eight days in getting down; during which time the wind was eastwardly, and had our fleet proceeded, (as it were to be wished they had) might easily have got unto Quebec in forty-eight hours.

Upon this disaster, the whole country (and indeed the nation) was alarmed, and many censures and jealousies arose, some imputing it to cowardice, but most to treachery, and the secret influence of some malcontents then at helm; otherwise why would a matter of such vast importance to the British kingdom, be

hushed up in silence, and the principal officers not summoned to appear? If the Admiral was in fault, wherefore was he not called to an account? Or why did not the General, to vindicate himself, lay a remonstrance before the council board? And the pilots, (who were ordered from hence at so great a charge to the country, to represent matters in a true light) been examined? But instead thereof, dismissed without being asked one question. However, one thing is remarkable, that among those that were shipwrecked, and lost their lives, there was but one single person that belonged to New-England among them.

Colonel Nicholson at this juncture was industriously engaged in getting the batteaux ready for passing the lake with a considerable number of friend Indians, as well as English, for the attack of Montreal, which next to Quebec, was the place of greatest importance in all the French territories. But just as he was ready to embark, an express came and gave an account of the miserable disaster that befel the fleet: whereas, if he had proceeded, his whole army would probably have been cut off; for upon advice of our fleet's misfortune, the French drew off all their auxiliaries, and most of their militia to reinforce Montreal, being advised of the descent that was making on them. So great was our loss in this enterprise, that it affected the whole country seven years after; as the advance and expense of so much money and provisions might well do. And it as much flushed the enemy: for out of the ruins of our vessels they not only got much plunder, but fortified their castle and out batteries, with a considerable number of cannon. They moreover stirred up the French and Indians about Annapolis Royal to revolt from their allegiance to the crown. Capt. Pidgeon being ordered up the river for timber to repair the fort, was violently attacked by no less than one hundred and fifty, who killed the whole boat's crew, wounded the fort major, and afterwards very

barbarously murdered him. They also slew Capt. Forbis, the engineer, besides several others, and took thirty-four of them prisoners. Soon after this, we were informed of the arrival of our British forces in England, on the 9th of October, at Portsmouth, where on the 15th following, the Admiral's ship, the Edgar, was accidentally blown up, with 400 seamen and several other people on board, all the officers being on shore.

The reduction of Canada was a matter of great consequence, not only to the interest of New-England and the adjacent colonies; but also to the whole British empire. Not that in itself it is of such intrinsic value; for that the cold is so great, and the ice so rigid, as to embargo it more than half the year. But as the ingenious Mr. Dummer observes, in a letter of his to a noble lord in the year 1712, the consequence would be very valuable; for as it extends above one thousand leagues towards the Mississippi, it would require a vast consumption yearly of the English manufacture to support it; there being so great a number of several nations that live behind, which bring down vast quantities of furs of all sorts, as amount to an incredible sum. But her Majesty's royal aim, as he notes, was not so immediately to advance a trade, as the security and peace of her good subjects in North America; being thoroughly apprized that so long as the French inhabit there, so long the English would be in hazard.

The Hudson's Bay Company, as well as Newfoundland, have given a melancholy account of the many ravages that have been committed there by the powerful assistance of those savages. I am not insensible that many have blamed New-England, and cast the odium wholly on them for not succeeding in this enterprize; but why New-England should be branded with such infamy, I never could yet hear the grounds, or any reason assigned, but what sprung from some capricious brains, who were

no well wishers either to the cause or country, and would stigmatize us if possible, as enemies to the church, and disloyal to our sovereign. But why enemies to the church? or wherein is it that we differ from them? save only in the ceremonies, which none of them will allow to be essential. We indeed are called dissenters; but many of those that are of the church, dissent more from one another than we do: for what we differ from, is, (as they themselves term it) only in matters of indifferency; but many of them are dissenters from their own articles of faith. Is not our own doctrine the same? the Sabbath as strictly solemnized? and our mode of worship as agreeable to the primative constitution, as any other church in the world? Not but that we have degenerated from the pious steps of our forefathers, yet I am bold to say, that as to number, there are as many sincere and good people in New-England as in any one part of the world. But I beg pardon for this digression, which is only to wipe off the calumny that is too often cast upon us. Now as to our loyalty, such pregnant instances may be given thereof, as will be surprizing to posterity. Witness our generous and noble undertaking in the reduction of Port Royal under Sir William Phips; and after that, in the year 1690, in our descent on Canada, where we lost many hundred brave men, and at our own cost expended upwards of one hundred and forty thousand pounds in money, without any allowance or assistance from the Crown. After this, a new descent on Port Royal, which although we miscarried in that also, yet as Mr. Dummer observes, we were not dispirited in raising another body of troops under the command of Colonel Nicholson. And all this under the oppression of twenty years war before, by the French and Indians. Yet in the last fatal expedition, we supplied more than our quota which the Queen assigned; besides, great sums were advanced to furnish the British forces, which but few towns in the kingdom

of England were able to effect; and none could do it with greater alacrity and cheerfulness of spirit than we did.

In the history of Sir Sebastian Cabot,* which I before hinted, we were informed that he took the great river of St. Lawrence for the crown of Great Britain, in the reign of King Henry the seventh, which, according to the French historians, coutains almost 2000 miles in length and 840 in breadth, situate between the 39th and 64th degrees of north latitude, which takes in Acadia, Newfoundland and Terra De Labrador. This great territory, in the beginning of the last century, by the contrivance of some then at helm, was taken possession of by the French, who since that, have made many fine settlements, more especially at Montreal and Quebec. The latter is called a city commanded by a castle, which stands on an eminence, in which are five churches, a cathedral, a bishop and twelve prebendaries. Our unhappy disappointment against Canada gave great uneasiness to the country, and was matter of fear lest new reprisals would be made on the out-skirts; wherefore it was determined that Colonel Walton with one hundred and eighty men, should go to Penobscot and the adjacent territories, where he burnt two fishing vessels, (that were preparing to come upon us early in the spring) and took several captives, with some plunder.

But New-England at this time was not alone insulted. The Jesuits were every way endeavoring to stir up the Indians, and at last did influence them to make a descent on the borders of Virginia, where they murdered a great many of the Palatines: upon which, a considerable number was raised, who went in quest of them, and destroyed four towns, besides a great many whom they took prisoners. Some of them were supposed to be the Senecas, who are a branch of the Five Nations. Another tribe called the Choctaws,† made many incursions on Carolina;

[* Cobbet, in the copy. † Shacktaus, in the copy.]

upon which Col. Gibs, the Governor, commissioned Capt. Hastings, and B———, the Indian Emperor, who was in league with the English; as also Capt. Welch, with the assistance of the Chickasaw* Indians, to fall on them in several parts, and in a little time got to their head-quarters, where the enemy in three divisions endeavoured to surround them, but after a smart engagement, received a perfect overthrow, which was followed with the burning and destroying four hundred houses or wigwams. The friend Indians appeared bold and active, but for want of discipline and a good regulation, did not the service that otherwise they might. After this, Col. Barnwell went in pursuit of another nation called the Tuskaroras,† and entirely routed them.

I now return to our frontiers, where at Exeter, April 16th, 1712, they killed Mr. Cuningham as he was travelling the road from Mr. Hilton's to Exeter. After this, they shot Samuel Webber between York and Cape Neddick: others fell on several teams in Wells, where they slew three and wounded as many more. One of the slain was Lieut. Littlefield, who a little before was redeemed out of captivity, and a person very much lamented. Soon after, they appeared in the middle of the town, and carried away two from thence. They went to Spruce Creek, where they killed a boy, and took another, and then went to York, but being pursued, made their escape. Another party fell on the upper branch of Oyster river, where they shot Jeremiah Cromett, and three miles higher, burnt a saw mill with a great many thousand of boards. Next day, they slew Ensign Tuttle at Tole-End,‡ and wounded a son of Lieut. Herd's as he stood sentinel. May 14th, about thirty French and Indians who had a design on York, surprized a scout of ours as they were marching to Cape Neddick, where they slew Sergeant Nalton,

[*Chicksha, in the copy. †Tnskarorahs, in the copy. ‡In Dover.]

and took seven besides: the remainder fought on a retreat till they got to a rock, which for some time proved a good barrier to them, and there continued until they were relieved by the vigilant care of Capt. Willard. About this time, fifty of our English who went up Merrimack river returned, with the good account of eight Indians that they had slain, and of considerable plunder besides which they had taken, without the loss of one man.

June 1st, they again came to Spruce Creek, where they shot John Pickernell as he was locking his door, and going to the garrison; they also wounded his wife and knocked a child on the head, which they scalped, yet afterwards it recovered. Two days after they were seen at Amesbury, then at Kingston, where they wounded Ebenezer Stevens and Stephen Gilman, the latter of which they took alive and inhumanly murdered. After this, they killed one at Newichawanick and on July 18th, fell on a company at Wells, where they slew another and took a Negro captive, who afterwards made his escape. The Sabbath after, they endeavoured to intercept the people at Dover as they came from worship; upon which a scout was sent in pursuit, but made no discovery. Yet in the intermitting time, they took two children* from Lieut. Heard's garrison, and not having time to scalp them, cut off both their heads, and carried them away. There was not a man at that time at home; however, one Esther Jones supplied the place of several; for she courageously advanced the watch box, crying aloud, 'here they are, come on, come on;' which so terrified them as to make them draw off, without doing any further mischief. The enemy at this time were thought to be very numerous, for they appeared in many parties, which occasioned an additional number to be left to cover the fronteirs, under the command of Capt. Davis, whose

[*Belonging to John Waldron. See 1 *Belknap*, 284.]

vigilant care (through the blessing of God on it) kept them from doing any further mischief. September 1st, they killed John Spencer, and wounded Dependance Stover.* At this time, a sloop from Placentia, with forty-five French and Indians, was cruising on our coast, which Captain Carver observing, gave her chase, and took her. But our fishery at Cape Sables, through the defect of the guard-ship, were great sufferers, where no less than twenty fell into their hands.

The last action that happened (of any moment) this war, was at Mr. Plaisted's marriage with Capt. Wheelwright's daughter of Wells, where happened a great concourse of people, who, as they were preparing to mount in order to their return, found two of their horses missing; upon which, Mr. Downing, with Isaac Cole and others, went out to seek them; but before they had gone many rods, the two former were killed, and the others taken. The noise of the guns soon alarmed the guests, and Capt. Lane, Capt. Robinson and Capt. Heard, with several others mounted their horses, ordering twelve soldiers in the mean time to run over the field, being the nearer way; but before the horsemen got far, they were ambushed by another party, who killed Capt. Robinson, and dismounted the rest; and yet they all escaped except the bridegroom, who in a few days after was redeemed by the prudent care of his father, at the expense of more than three hundred pounds. Capt. Lane and Capt. Harmon mustered what strength they could, and held a dispute with them some time, but there was little or no execution done on either side.

Not long after this, we had advice of a suspension of arms between the two crowns, which the Indians being apprized of, came in with a flag of truce, and desired a treaty. Their first application was to Capt. Moody at Casco, desiring that the

[* Probably Storer.]

conference might be there; but the governor not willing so far to condescend, ordered it to be at Portsmouth, where they accordingly met July 11th, 1713, three delegates from St. John's, three from Kennebeck, including the other settlements from Penacook, Amasacontee, Norridgewoc, Saco, and all other adjacent places; where articles of pacification were drawn up, which I have hereunto annexed, viz.:

"Whereas, for some years last past, we have made a breach of our fidelity and loyalty to the crown of Great Britain, and have made open rebellion against her Majesty's subjects, the English inhabiting the Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, and other her Majesty's territories in New-England; and being now sensible of the miseries which we and our people are reduced unto thereby; we whose names are hereunto subscribed, being delegates of all the Indians belonging to Norridgewoc, Narahamegock, Amasecontee, Pigwacket, Penacook, rivers of St. John's and Merrimack, parts of her Majesty's provinces of the Massachusetts Bay, and New-Hampshire, within her Majesty's sovereignty, having made application to his Excellency Joseph Dudley, Esq., Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the said provinces, that the troubles which we have unhappily raised or occasioned against her Majesty's subjects the English and ourselves may cease and have an end; and that we may again enjoy her Majesty's grace and favour. And each of us respectively for ourselves, and in the names and with the free consent of all the Indians belonging to the several places and rivers aforesaid, and all other Indians within the said provinces of the Massachusetts Bay, and New-Hampshire, hereby acknowledging ourselves the lawful subjects of our sovereign lady Queen Anne, and promising our hearty submission and obedience to the Crown of Great Britain, do solemnly covenant, promise and agree with the said Joseph Dudley, Governor, and

all such as shall be hereafter in the place of Captain General and Governor in Chief of the said provinces and territories on her Majesty's behalf, in form following; that is to say, that at all times forever, from and after the date of these presents, we will cease and forbear all acts of hostility towards all the subjects of Great Britain, and not offer the least hurt or violence to them or any of them in their persons and estates; but will henceforth hold and maintain a firm and constant amity and friendship with all the English, and will never entertain any treasonable conspiracy with any other nation to their distnrbance: that her Majesty's subjects the English shall, and may quietly and peaceably enter upon, improve and forever enjoy all and singular the rights of land and former settlements, properties and possessions within the eastern parts of said provinces of the Massachusetts Bay and New-Hampshire, together with the islands, inlets, shores, beaches, and fishery within the same, without any molestation or claim by us or any other Indians; and be in no wise molested or disturbed therein; saving unto the Indians their own ground, and free liberty of hunting, fishing, fowling, and all other lawful liberties and privileges, as on the eleventh day of August, in the year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred and ninety-three: that for mutual safety and benefit, all trade and commerce which hereafter may be allowed betwixt the English and the Indians, shall be only in such places, and under such management and regulation, as shall be stated by her Majesty's government of the said provinces respectively.

"And to prevent mischiefs and inconveniencies, the Indians shall not be allowed for the present, or until they have liberty from the respective governments, to come near unto any English plantations or settlements on this side of Saco River.

"That if any controversy or difference happen hereafter, to and betwixt any of the English and the Indians for any real or

supposed wrong or injury done on the one side or the other, no private revenge shall be taken by the Indians for the same, but proper application shall be made to her Majesty's governments upon the place for remedy thereof in due course of justice; we hereby submitting ourselves to be ruled and governed by her Majesty's laws, and desire to have the protection and benefit of the same.

"We confess that we have, contrary to all faith and justice, broken our articles with Sir William Phips, Governor in the year of our Lord God 1693, and with the Earl of Bellamont in the year 1699.

"And the assurance we gave to his excellency Joseph Dudley, Esq. in the year of our Lord God, 1702, in the month of August, and 1703, in the month of July, notwithstanding we have been well treated by the said governors. But we resolve for the future, not to be drawn into any perfidious treaty or correspondence, to the hurt of any of her Majesty's subjects of the crown of Great Britain; and if we know any such, we will seasonably reveal it to the English.

"Wherefore, we whose names are hereunto subscribed, delegates for the several tribes of Indians belonging to the river of Kennebeck, Ameriscoggin, St. John's, Saco, Merrimack, and the parts adjacent, being sensible of our great offence and folly in not complying with the aforesaid submission and agreements, and also the sufferings and mischiefs that we have thereby exposed ourselves unto, do in all humble and submissive manner, cast ourselves upon her Majesty for mercy and pardon for all our past rebellions, hostilities, and violations of our promises; praying to be received unto her Majesty's grace and favor.

"And for and on behalf of ourselves, and all other the Indians belonging to the several rivers and places aforesaid, within the sovereignty of her Majesty of Great Britain, do again

acknowledge, and confess our hearty and sincere obedience unto the Crown of Great Britain, and do solemnly renew, and confirm all and every of the articles and agreements contained in the former and present submission.

"This treaty to be humbly laid before her Majesty for her ratification and further order. In witness whereof, we the delegates aforesaid, by name *Kizebenuit*, *Iteansis*, and *Jackoid* for Penobscot, *Joseph* and *Æneas* for St. Johns, *Warrueensit*, *Wadacanaquin*, and *Bomazeen* for Kennebeck, have hereunto set our hands and seals this 13th day of July, 1713.

Signed, Sealed and delivered
in the presence of us,

Edmund Quincy,
Spencer Phips,
Wm. Dudley,
Shad. Walton,
Josiah Willard,
&c.

Signum *Kirebenuit*

Signum *Warraeensitt*

Signum *Bomaseen*

Signum *Wadacanaquin*

Signum *Æneas*

Signum *Iteansis*

Signum *Jackoid*

Signum *Joseph.*"

Province of New-Hampshire.

The submission and pacification of the eastern Indians, was made and done the thirteenth day of July, 1713, Annoque Regni Reginæ nunc Magnæ Brittaniæ duodecimo.

Present, his Excellency Joseph Dudley, Esq., Captain General and Governor in Chief, in and over her Majesty's provinces of the Massachusetts Bay and New-Hampshire in New-England, and Vice-Admiral of the same.

Counsellors of the Massachusetts.

Samuel Sewall, Jonathan Corwin, Penn Townsend, John Appleton, John Higginson, Andrew Belcher, Thomas Noyes, Samuel Appleton, Ichabod Plaisted, John Wheelwright, and Benjamin Lynde, Esquires.

Counsellors of New-Hampshire.

William Vaughan, Peter Coffin, Robert Elliot, Richard Waldron, Nathaniel Weare, Samuel Penhallow, John Plaisted, Mark Hunking and John Wentworth, Esquires.

For a further ratification of this treaty, several gentlemen of both governments went from Portsmouth to Casco, where a great body of Indians were assembled, to know the result of matters: it being a custom among them on all such occasions, to have the whole of their tribes present; having no other record of conveying to posterity, but what they communicate from father to son, and so to the son's son. When the several articles were read and explained, by interpreters upon oath, (the delegates being present) they signified an unanimous consent and satisfaction, by loud huzzas and acclamations of joy. Many presents were then made them, which were thankfully received, and every tribe had their proportion given out; but they were so disorderly, that Mauxis (although he was the Sagamore in

all the eastern parts) was robbed by the morning of all he had; upon which he made a miserable complaint unto the English next day, of the unruliness of his young men, who had stolen away all he had, therefore, begged a new supply. But although their government is so anarchical, and their chiefs have so little respect and honour shewn them, yet in their council they observe a very excellent decorum; not suffering any to speak but one at a time, which is delivered with such a remarkable pathos and surprising gravity, that there is neither smile nor whisper to be observed, until he that speaks has finished his discourse, who then sits down, and after that another rises up.

The peace thus concluded and so firmly ratified, gave matter of encouragement to the eastern inhabitants for re-settling their former habitations; who were also countenanced and assisted by the government, even from Cape Porpoise to Kennebeck river, where several gentlemen who had large tracts of land, granted a hundred acres to every one for encouragement that would go and settle; supporting a minister besides (for some time) and employed a sloop at their own charge for carrying and re-carrying the inhabitants with their stock; which gave so great encouragement that several towns began to be settled, as Brunswick,* Topsham, Augusta, Georgetown, &c., in which a great many fine buildings were erected, with several saw-mills, &c.

A fishery was also undertaken by the ingenious Doctor Noyes, where twenty vessels were employed at a time. He afterwards built a stone garrison at Augusta at his own charge, which was judged to be the best in the eastern country; and for a while was kept at the public cost, but afterwards slighted; which occasioned the inhabitants to withdraw, and then the Indians burnt it with several other houses.

[* Bromswick, in the copy. This town was settled as early as 1675, by a Mr. Purchase, who lived near the head of Steven's river and traded with the Indians, of whom he obtained grants of land; but the first settlements here were broken up in 1676.—*Sullivan* 177.

In Kennebeck river, the Sturgeon fishery was also begun and carried on with so great success, that many thousand kegs were made in a season, and esteemed as good as any that ever came from Hambrough or Norway: besides vast quantities of pipe staves, hogshead and barrel, pine boards, plank, and timber of all sorts, which were not only transported to Boston, but to foreign places. Husbandry also began to thrive, and great stocks of cattle were raised.

The French missionaries perceiving the growth of these plantations, soon animated the Indians to disrest them, by insinuating that the land was theirs, and that the English invaded their properties; which was a vile and wrong suggestion, for that their conveyances were from the ancient Sagamores, at least seventy years before; and the proprietors did not settle so high up by several miles as was formerly possessed by their predecessors.

However the Indians could not be satisfied, but so threatened the inhabitants, that many withdrew, and others were discouraged from going to settle. Soon after, they killed many of their cattle, and committed many other outrages.

No sooner was this advice brought unto his Excellency, Samuel Shute, Esq., who was now Captain General and Governor in Chief, in and over the provinces of the Massachusetts Bay, and New-Hampshire, &c., (and one zealously affected for the interest of the country) but he appointed a Congress at Arrowsick, in Kennebeck river, in August, 1717, where a great number of Indians, with the chiefs of every tribe accordingly met. And some of the principal gentlemen of both provinces accompanied his Excellency to the place appointed. The complaints on each side being impartially heard and debated, the original deeds from the ancient Sagamores were produced and explained, having interpreters on oath. The articles drawn up and signed in

the year 1713, were again read and ratified, to the seeming satisfaction of the principal Sachems, who inclined to peace; and imputed the late miscarriages unto the young men, but were now resolved on a firm harmony, and would in no respect violate the former treaties. Upon this, his Excellency made them several presents, which they thankfully received, and in acknowledgment thereof, returned him a belt of wampum, with some beaver skins. After this, they drank the King's health, and promised allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain, so that every thing had now the promising aspect of a lasting peace. One thing I cannot here omit: three days after our departure, a number of Indians went a Duck-hunting, which was a season of the year that the old ones generally shed their feathers in, and the young ones are not so well flushed as to be able to fly; they drove them like a flock of sheep before them into the creeks, where without either powder or shot they killed at one time, four thousand and six hundred; for they followed them so close, that they knocked them down with billets and paddles, and sold a great number of them to the English for a penny a dozen, which is their practice yearly, though they seldom make so great a slaughter at once. But before two years were expired, they again began to insult the inhabitants, being spurred on by the Jesuits, which occasioned a scout of fifty or sixty men to be sent out, who kept them in some awe. But in the year 1720, they began to be more insolent, and appeared in greater bodies; upon which, Colonel Walton was ordered with about two hundred men to guard the frontiers, and was after that appointed with Capt. Moody, Harmon, Penhallow, and Wainwright, to send their Chiefs for satisfaction for the late hostilities which they had done in killing the cattle, &c. The Indians, fearing the event, promised to pay two hundred skins, and for their fidelity to deliver up four of their young men as hostages.

After this, they became tolerably quiet, but in the spring grew as insolent as before; especially in Kennebeck, where, some time in July, they came with ninety canoes on the Padishal's island, which lies opposite to Arrowsick, and sent to speak with Capt. Penhallow, who fearing an intrigue, refused. Upon which, one hundred and fifty of them went over to him, with whom he held a conference; especially with Monsieur Delachase,* and Sebastian Ralle, who were Jesuits; Monsieur Crozen from Canada, and St. Casteen† from Penobscot, came also along with them, who brought a letter for governor Shute, in behalf of the several tribes, importing, that if the English did not remove and quit their land in three weeks, they would burn their houses and kill them, as also their cattle. Upon this, an additional number of soldiers were sent under the command of Col. Thaxter and Lieut. Col. Goffe; and several gentlemen of the council were also appointed to inquire into the ground of these tumults, and, if possible, to renew the pacification; who accordingly went and sent scouts to call the Indians in, but they slighted the message with derison. Hereupon, the soldiers were ordered to continue, and reinforce the garrisons that winter. But in the summer, they renewed their insults, and on the 13th of June, 1722, about sixty of them, in twenty canoes, came and took nine families in Merrymeeting Bay, most of which they afterwards set at

[*Probably Father De La Chasse, afterwards Superior General of the missions to New France.—*Vol. 1 N. H. Hist. Soc. col.*]

[†Baron De St. Castine, a very extraordinary character. According to Voltaire, and the Abbe Raynal, he had been Colonel of the regiment of Coriagon, in France. He was a man of family and fortune: he came to America in 1670, and settled among the Penobscot Indians, married a daughter of the Chief, and had several other wives. By the treaty of Breda, the territory beyond the Penobscot was ceded to France, and Castine lived within that country. Some difficulty arose about a cargo of Wine, which was landed in the country, and a new line was run by the English, by which the place of landing, together with Castine's lands, was taken within the English Claim. Andross, in his expedition before named, plundered Castine's house of everything valuable, in his absence. This base act so exasperated him, that he used his exertions to inflame the Indians against the English, which he effectually did, and their chief supplies of arms and ammunition were furnished by him. He had an estate in France, to which he retired when the French lost their possessions in that part of the country. See *Sullivan's Hist. of Maine, pp.* 93, 158, 226.—*Vol.* 1 *Hist. of N. Hampshire, pp.* 195, 196.

If we name this war from those that occasioned it, we may call it Castine's war; but the French, perhaps, would call it Andross' war.—*Drake's French and Indian Wars, p.* 164.]

liberty, but sent Mr. Hamilton, Love, Handson, Trescot and Edgar to Canada; who, with great difficulty and expense, afterwards got clear. They then made a descent on St. Georges, where they burnt a sloop, took several prisoners, and fought the garrison some time; and in a month after, came a greater body from Penobscot, who killed five, and engaged the fort twelve days; being very much encouraged by the influence of the Friar that was with them. But finding they could make no great impression, endeavoured to undermine it, and had made a considerable progress therein, till upon the falling of much rain, the trenches caved in, which caused the siege to break up, with the loss of twenty of them in the engagement, as we were afterwards informed. About the same time, Capt. Samuel with five others boarded Lieut. Tilton, as he lay at anchor a fishing, near Damaris Cove. They pinioned him and his brother, and beat them very sorely: but at last, one got clear and released the other, who then fell with great fury upon the Indians, threw one overboard, and mortally wounded two more.

Capt. Savage, Capt Blin, and Mr. Newton, who at this time were coming from Annapolis, and knew nothing of their ravages, went into Passamaquoddy for water. They were no sooner ashore, but found themselves hemmed in by a body of Indians, the French basely standing by and suffering it. They wanted to divide the cargo of the sloop among them, and at last sent Capt. Savage on board to procure some ransom. But the wind rising, he was forced off, and made the best of his way to Boston. Those that he left (after some difficulty and expense) were released.

Capt. Harmon, who was now in Kennebeck, went up the river with a detachment of thirty-four men, and seeing some fires, went ashore in the night, where he came on eleven canoes. The Indians were lying round the fire, and so wearied, by much

dancing the day before, upon the success they had, that they stumbled over them as they lay asleep. Reports were various as to the number of Indians that were then slain; some say eighteen, others not so many: however, they brought away fifteen guns; and at a little distance, found the hand of an Englishman laid on the stump of a tree, and his body mangled after a barbarous manner; having his tongue, nose, and private parts cut off. They brought away the body, and gave it a decent burial. It was found to be the body of Moses Eaton, of Salisbury.

In this brave attempt of Capt. Harmon, which was effected in ten minutes, we lost not one man; yet at the same time a great body of Indians lay near, who being startled at the noise that was made, arose and fired several guns, but did no damage.*

The country at this time was in a surprizing ferment, and generally disposed to a war; but the governor and council could not readily come into it, considering the vast expense and effusion of blood that would unavoidably follow. Besides, some were not satisfied with the lawfulness of it at this time: for although they believed the Indians to be very criminal in many respects, yet were of opinion that the English had not so punctually observed the promises made to them of trading-houses for the benefit of commerce and traffick, and for the preventing of frauds and extortions, too common in the private dealings of the English with them. But the grand abuse to them is the selling

[* About the year 1720, Capt. Thomas Baker of Northampton, in the county of Hampshire, in Massachusetts, sat off with a scouting party of thirty-four men, passed up Connecticut river, and crossed the height of land to Pemigewasset river. He there discovered a party of Indians, whose Sachem was called Walternummus, whom he attacked and destroyed. Baker and the Sachem levelled and discharged their guns at each other at the same instant. The ball from the Indian's gun grazed Baker's left eyebrow, but did him no injury. The ball from Baker's gun went through the breast of the Sachem. Immediately upon being wounded, he leaped four or five feet high, and then fell instantly dead. The Indians fled to the river; Baker and his party pursued, and destroyed every one of them. They had a wigwam on the bank of the river, which was nearly filled with beaver. Baker's party took as much of it as they could carry away, and burned the rest. Baker lost none of his men in this skirmish. It took place at the confluence of a small river with the Pemigewasset, between Plymouth and Campton, which has since had the name of Baker's river.—*Farmer's & Moore's Collections*, Vol. III, p. 100.

of strong drink to them, which has occasioned much quarrelling and sin, and the loss of many lives, to the great scandal of religion and reproach of the country. His excellency was sensible of the promises that he made to them at the treaty of pacification, which he failed not to lay before the general assembly; but he met with so much opposition that nothing could be effected. The finding an Armourer at the public charge, was also engaged, but nothing was done therein; so that the Indians were full of resentments, and thought themselves wronged. Yet all this time, they made no application unto the government for redress, which they ought to have done by the articles of agreement, but broke forth into horrid and cruel outrages, by burning, killing, and destroying. At last the Governor, by repeated addresses from the people, was obliged to call the Council together to concert what was proper to be done, who advised to the proclaiming an open war. But their not consulting beforehand with the other governments, was certainly a great oversight; who probably would have come into it, and thereby have helped to support the charge, which now lay wholly on the Massachusetts and New-Hampshire.

Proclamation.

"Whereas the Indians inhabiting the eastern parts of this province, notwithstanding their repeated submissions to his Majesty's crown and government, their publick and solemn treaties and engagements entered into with the government here established, to demean themselves peaceably and amicably towards his Majesty's good subjects of this province; and notwithstanding the kind and good treatment they have received from the government, have for some years last past appeared in considerable numbers in an hostile manner, and given disturbance to his Majesty's subjects in the eastern parts of this province, killing their cattle and threatening destruction to their persons and estates; and in abuse of the lenity and forbearance of the government, have lately with the utmost injustice and treachery proceeded to plunder, despoil, and take captive many of his Majesty's good subjects, to assault, take, burn, and destroy vessels upon the seacoasts, and houses and mills upon the land; to wound some, and in a most barbarous and cruel manner to murder others, of the inhabitants of this province; and in a way of open rebellion and hostility, to make an audacious and furious assault upon one of his Majesty's forts when the King's colors were flying.

"I do therefore, by and with the advice of his Majesty's council, hereby declare and proclaim the said eastern Indians, with their confederates, to be robbers, traitors, and enemies to his Majesty King George, his crown and dignity, and that they be henceforth proceeded against as such: willing and requiring all his Majesty's good subjects, as they shall have opportunity, to do and execute all acts of hostility against them; hereby also forbidding all his Majesty's good subjects to hold any correspondence with the said Indians, or to give, aid, comfort, succor or relief unto them, on penalty of the laws in that case made and provided. And whereas there be some of said Indians who have not been concerned in the perfidious and barbarous acts before-mentioned, and many may be desirous to put themselves under the protection of this government:

"To the intent, therefore, that the utmost clemency may be shewn to such, I do hereby grant and allow them to come in and render themselves to the commanding officer of the forces, or to the respective officer of any party or parties in the service; provided it may be within forty days from this time. And to the intent that none of our friend Indians may be exposed, or any rebels or enemy Indians may escape on pretence of being friends; I do hereby strictly forbid any of the said Indians to move out of their respective plantations, or such other places whereto they shall be assigned, or to come into any English town or district, within the colony of the Massachusetts Bay or the county of York, without being attended with such men as I shall appoint to oversee them, at their peril, and as they tender their own safety. And further, I forbid all the friend Indians to hold communion with, harbour or conceal any of the said rebels, or enemy Indians; requiring them to seize and secure all such that may come among them, and to delivor them up to justice.

"And all military commission-officers are hereby authorized and commanded to put this declaration and order into execution.

Given at the Council Chamber in Boston the twenty-fifth of July, 1722.

SAMUEL SHUTE.

Josiah Willard, Secr.

GOD SAVE THE KING."

The abovesaid declaration (for substance) was also given out the week after, at the council chamber at Portsmouth, in the province of New-Hampshire.

Now, although the settlements in Kennebeck were the first that were molested, yet it is not to be supposed that the bent of the enemies fury was on them alone, as some would insinuate; for at the same time they interrupted the fishery throughout all Nova-Scotia. Many have reflected on the government for suffering a fort to be at St. Georges, as if that did irritate the Indians; but why the proprietors might not make an improvement thereof, as well as any others on their right of pur-

chase, I know not; considering that it was granted from the crown, and no exemption made at the treaty of peace. Yet at the same time I must be free to say, that there was too great indulgence at first in the government in suffering so many townships at so great a distance to be laid out at once, unless they were more peopled; which has since been the occasion not only of a vast expense, but a great effusion of blood.

The number of vessels were about sixteen which the enemy took at Canso, as they went into the harbors for their necessity; which so soon as governor Phillips was apprised of, he summoned the several masters ashore with the sailors, and proposed the fitting out of two sloops well manned, for recovering the vessels and captives, which being approved of, he forthwith ordered the drums to beat for volunteers, and in less than half a day, fixed them out with about twenty men in each, under the command of Capt. Elliot and Capt. Robinson, who freely offered their services; but as Capt. Elliot out-sailed the other, he got first to a harbor called Winpague, where he discovered some vessels, and bore directly down upon them, till he came pretty near. The Indians being flushed with success, and having thirty-nine on board one of the vessels which they had took, and seeing no more men on board the English than what was usual, commanded them to strike for that they were their prize. Unto whom Capt. Elliot replied that he was hastening to them; and in an instant called his men on deck, who fired on them with a loud huzza, and clapped them on board; which was so surprizing a salutation, that they made a most dreadful yelling. However, they resisted as well as they could for about half an hour, in which time Capt. Elliot received three wounds, when Mr. Bradstreet, who commanded the soldiers, entered with handgrenadoes, most of the Indians jumped overboard, who were shot in the water. Those that ran down into the hold, were

tore in pieces by the shells, so that only five escaped, who were wounded. One of our men was killed, and several hurt, particularly the corporal of the troops, who had five swan-shot in his body. Capt. Elliot being ill of his wounds, was obliged to return, carrying with him seven vessels into Canso, which he re-took with fifteen captives, six hundred quintals of fish, and two heads of the chiefs of those Indians that were among them. Upon this the Governor ordered the same sloop back with a fresh supply of men to reinforce Capt. Robinson, who in a week after brought in two Indian scalps, a schooner and a sloop, which they took at Mallegash.

After that he met with a Frenchman and an English captive, who informed of a body of Indians and five vessels that lay at a little distance, which he immediately went in pursuit of; but fearing the event, was not willing at the first to engage them, but kept at some distance, and then three canoes with three Indians in each, double armed, drew near, one of which came on board, as the rest lay on their paddles, whom they treated friendly in expectation of a greater prize. But the Indian growing jealous attempted to escape, and presented his gun to Lieut. Johnson's breast, which he putting by, shot him dead. Upon this, they fired upon those in the canoes, and killed three. The enemy was so numerous ashore, that he thought it not safe to encounter them; however he took one vessel. At this time they had twenty of our English captives, but could not come to a fair capitulation about their redemption. However, the Captain warned them to use them well, for as we had thirty of theirs at Annapolis, twenty at Boston, and as many more at Canso, as they treated ours, so we would theirs. Mr. Bradstreet now steered to the westward of the harbor, where Capt. Elliot had the dispute before-mentioned, where he re-took three vessels more, but could see neither captive nor Indians. The day after,

Capt. Blin very happiiy arrived with a flag of truce and redeemed seven vessels and twenty-four captives, who otherwise would have been put to death. From thence he sailed to the Cape, and in his returning back, took three or four Indians, which he carried to Boston. Capt. Southack being informed of a small body that was then at Astagenash in the gulf of St. Lawrence, where Monsieur Golden, the famous Friar, did reside, had an intent to visit him; but in his passage through the gut, was happily diverted, where meeting with two canoes, in which were six Indians, he killed one, and took the other five.

The general assembly not finding the former bounty sufficiently encouraging to volunteers, now passed an act of one hundred pounds a scalp to all such as supported themselves, and whoever was subsisted by the publick, should have sixty pounds for the like: that any company or troop issuing forth upon an alarm, should over and above the establishment have thirty pounds, and an encouraging reward besides, for all prisoners that they took; and whatever plunder might be taken should be shared among them. And if any volunteers or detached soldiers should happen to be wounded or maimed in the service, that during the continuance of such wound or maim, he shall be allowed such a stipend or pension as the general court should think fit to order.

September the 10th, we had a surprizing account from Arrowsick of four or five hundred Canada and Cape Sable Indians, that fell upon them early in the morning, who probably would have laid all desolate, had they not been seasonably discovered by a small guard, which Capt. Penhallow was sending out for assisting the neighborhood to gather in the corn; who killed one and wounded three more of the company: the report of which guns did so alarm the inhabitants, that they, with most of their substance, got seasonably into the garrison. Their first appear-

ance seemed terrible, considering their number, with the fewness of those that were to defend; who fought the garrison some time, and shot Samuel Brooking through a port-hole; after that they had killed fifty head of cattle, and burnt twenty-six dwelling-houses. The same day, in the evening, came Col. Walton and Capt. Harmon, with about thirty men in two whale-boats, who, with those of Capt. Temple and Penhallow's men, (that could be spared out of the garrisons) made about seventy, and gave them battle some time: but the enemy were so numerous, that they were like to have hemmed them in, had they not fought upon a retreat.

In the night, they drew off, without much cause of triumph, and went up the river, where they attacked Mr. Stratton, as he was turning down in his sloop, whom they mortally wounded; and then went to Richmond, where some time they held a dispute with the garrison, and afterwards drew off. The last that fell this season was a man at Berwick.

His Excellency's affairs now calling him to Great Britain, the government of the Massachusetts was wholly devolved on the Honourable William Dummer, Esq. Lieut. Governor; during whose administration, there were as many remarkable turns of divine providence, (respecting the enemy) as have happened since the war commenced; whose prudence and good conduct have made him acceptable unto all.

The first alteration that he made, was in commissionating Col. Westbrook as Chief in the eastern affairs; who, on the 10th of February, marched to Penobscot, and Capt. Harmon at the same time up Ameriscoggin * river, but neither of them had any success, save burning their chapel and some wigwams. Capt. Sayward, with a company of volunteers, went as far as the White Hills, near one hundred miles into the enemies' country, but met with the like misfortune.

[* Amanascoggin, in copy.]

So soon as the spring advanced, they began to appear as furious as ever. At Scarborough, they killed Thomas Larabee and his son: after that, Mrs. Dearing* and two soldiers, where they also took Mary Scamond, John Hunuel, and Robert Jordan. Another party came to Cocheco, where they slew Tristam Head,† Joseph Ham, and carried three children captive. From thence they went to Lamprey-Eel river, where they killed Aaron Rawlins with one of his children, carrying away his wife and three more with them. At Northfield, they shot two,‡ and meeting with the Reverend Mr. Willard of Rutland, they laid violent hands upon him; but he being a person of courage agreeable to his strength, he slew one and wounded another, till at last they gave him the fatal stroke.§ Two of Ensign Steven's sons were also killed, and two more carried captive.

Capt. Watkins, who at this time was engaged on a fishing voyage at Canso, was surprized by a small body in the night while abed. The day before he was at church, and it happened that two ministers, in two different congregations, preached on one and the same subject; namely, preparing for sudden death; not knowing how soon or in what manner death would attack

[* Mrs. Dearing was the wife of Roger Dearing, who lived on a farm since well known by the name of *Nonesuch*. Hutchinson informs us that the Indians also took three of his children as they were picking berries, and killed two other persons.—*Vol.* 1 *N. H. Hist. Soc. col.*]

[† Tristam *Heard*, says Dr. Belknap.]

[‡ These persons were killed on the 14th of August.]

[§ Rev. Joseph Willard graduated at Yale College, 1714, and was settled at Sunderland, from whence he removed to Rutland, and on the 12th of July, 1721, was invited to settle in the ministry. The day of his installation was deferred on account of the discouragements of the times, till the fall of 1723, when he was cut off by the enemy. The followiug account of his death and other Indian depredations, is given by Mr. Whitney, in his *History of Worcester County*.

As deacon Joseph Stevens and four of his sons were making hay in a meadow, at Rutland, on the 14th of August, 1723, they were surprized by five Indians. The father escaped in the bushes; two of the sons were slain, and two, Phineas and Isaac, were made prisoners. Two of the five Indians way-laid a Mr. Davis and son, who that afternoon were making hay in a meadow not far off, but weary of waiting, they were returning to the others, and met Mr. Willard in their way, who was armed. One of the Indians' guns missed fire, the others did no execution. Mr. Willard returned the fire and wounded one of them, it is said mortally; the other closed in with Mr. Willard; but he would have been more than a match for him, had not the other three come to his assistance; and it was some considerable time before they killed Mr. Willard. Phineas Stevens, above mentioned, was the celebrated warrior in the Cape Breton war: and the one who so bravely defended Charlestown, N. H., on the 4th of April, 1747, when attacked by 400 French and Indians under Mons. Debeline.—*Vol.* 1 *N. H. Hist Soc. col.*]

them. His lodging was on an island at a little distance from the fort, and although he was so strongly importuned by several of his friends to stay with them that night, as if they had a secret impulse of some impending evil; yet all the arguments they could use, could no ways prevail or influence him. He was a gentleman of singular good temper, respected and lamented by all that knew him. John Drew of Portsmouth (a pretty youth) was slain with him, at the same time.

The delegates of the six nations of Iroquois, with the Mohegan and Scatacook Indians, being disposed to come to Boston, were kindly entertained there. And at a conference with the General Assembly, signified a great concern for the blood that was so often shed by their kinsmen and brethren; that from the original they were friends to the English, and as a testimony of their continuing so, presented a belt of wampum; which according to their custom, is the renewing the covenant. His Honor the Lieut. Governor, as an acknowledgment, gave each of them a piece of plate, with figures engraven thereon, as a turtle, a bear, a hatchet, a wolf, &c., which were the escutcheons of their several tribes. And the more to oblige them to our interest, they had a promise made of one hundred pounds a scalp for every Indian that they killed or took; which seemed so pleasing to them that they manifested a readiness of taking up the hatchet in favour of the English, whenever any hostility was made against them. After this, they were entertained with the curious sight of a gun that was made by the ingenious Mr. Pim of Boston; which although loaded but once, yet was discharged eleven times following with bullets, in the space of two minutes; each of which went through a double door at fifty yards distance. They were then presented with an ox, which with bows and arrows they killed and dressed according to their own custom; where thousands of spectators were present to behold and

hear their barbarous singing and dancing. But notwithstanding this free and generous entertainment, with the firm promises they made of falling on our enemies, (whenever they made any insults on us) all proved of little or no significancy; which was principally owing to the powerful influence of the Dutch, for the sake of trade and commerce with them, as was observed on the like occasion.*

October the 13th,† we had an account from Northfield, of a body of Indians that fell on the town-fort, where they wounded two and killed as many more. Soon after, they surprized Mr. Cogshell and his boat's company as they were going ashore at Mount Desart.‡

December 5th, about sixty laid siege to St. George's, garrison, where they continued thirty days, and were not a little flushed with the expectation of success; for at their first coming they took two soldiers, who gave an account of the state of matters: but Mr. Canady, the commanding officer, being one of uncommon courage and resolution, stood his ground till Col. Westbrook arrived, who soon put them to a rout. After this, some came to Berwick, where they took a soldier as he was carelessly wandering from the garrison.

The favourableness of the winter prevented our marching to any of their head quarters this season, excepting to Norridgewock, where Capt Moulton found a vile and pernicious letter from the governor of Quebec, directed unto the Friar, exhorting him to push on the Indians with all imaginable zeal against the English, whose advice he as industriously pursued.§

[* In this year, [1723] two persons, by the names of Smith and Bailey, were killed at Cape Porpoise; the former, on Vaughn's Island; the latter, at a place near where the old meeting-house stood, on the sea-shore.—*Sullivan*, 230.]

[† October 11th, says Hutchinson, see p. 275.]

[‡ *Desert* it should be: a very large island, covering the area of about 180 square miles, and nearly all the waters of the Bay of Fundy, or Frenchman's Bay. It was named Monts Deserts by Champlain, in honour, perhaps, of De Monts, with whom he had formerly sailed. It was once called Mt. Mainsell by the English, which, Mr. Savage (in *Winthrop, I,* 23) thinks was so called in honour of Sir Robert Mansell, named in the great Charter.—*Drake's French and Indian Wars, p.* 220.]

[§ March 23, 1724, one Smith, sergeant of the fort at Cape Porpoise, was killed.]

April 17th, 1724, they shot William Mitchel of Scarborough, as he was ploughing in the field, and took two of his sons, who afterwards were released at the taking of Norridgewock.* They then fell on a sloop at Kennebunk, which belonged to Lynn, and killed the whole company. But the greatest stroke was on Capt. Winslow, who with sixteen men in two whale-boats, went from St. George's to the Green Islands, where the enemy usually frequent on the account of fowling. But on their return, they were ambuscaded by two or three companies of them that lay on each side the river. The first that fell was sergeant Harvey, who commanded the other boat; for by keeping too near the shore, he gave the enemy the greater advantage: however, he returned the shot with as much bravery as could be expected, till overpowered by a multitude, Capt. Winslow,† who was considerably ahead and out of danger, perceiving the engagement, courageously returned back to their assistance. But before he could give them any relief, was surrounded with about thirty canoes, who made a hideous yelling; but he gave them no answer but from the muzzles of his guns. A smart engagement followed, which held till night: when finding his thigh broken, and most his men slain, was obliged to hasten ashore; but there also he found himself unhappily way-laid. They fell on him with utmost fury, yet his courage continued until the last; for (as one of those that escaped has since reported) he rested himself on his other knee, and killed an Indian before they had power to slay him. Thus died that worthy young gentleman, for the cause of his country. He was one of liberal education and good extract, being the grandson of governor Winslow of Plymouth; and if he had survived, might have been of good

[* About the same time Mitchell was killed, John Felt, William Wormwell, and Ebenezer Lewis, were killed at a saw-mill on Kennebeck river.—*Vol.* 1 *N. H. Hist. Soc. col.*]

[† Josiah Winslow who graduated at Harvard College in 1721.]

service in his generation. Sylvanus Nock,* a worthy elder of the church at Oyster river, soon after this, was slain as he was on horseback. Myles Thompson of Berwick, was the same day also killed by another party, and his son was carried captive.† A few days after, they again beset Capt. Penhallow's garrison, where they took three as they were driving their cows to pasture, and at their drawing off killed a great many cattle. Another party fell on Kingston, where they took Peter Colcord, Ephraim Severns, and two of Mr. Stevens' children, whom they carried to Canada; but by the unwearied pains and expence of Mr. Stevens, he in a little time purchased his children.‡ Colcord about six months after, made his escape and got unto his friends, but did not survive long. May 24th, they shot George Chesley as he was returning from public worship, with whom was Elizabeth Burnum, who was mortally wounded. Three days after, they went to Perpooduck, where they killed one and wounded another, and then marched to Saco, where they slew David Hill, a friend Indian. On the same day, another party went to Chester, where they took Thomas Smith, with another whom they pinioned, but soon after, they made their escape.

The frontiers being thus alarmed, two companies of volunteers went from New-Hampshire on the bounty act, one hundred pounds a scalp, and it happened that Moses Davis, as he was weeding his corn, went unto a brook to drink, where he saw

[* *James* Nock, says Dr. Belknap.]

[† Thompson was killed in May, 1724. He lived on the road which leads from Quampeagan to Wells, at Love's Brook. One Stone was mangled and scalped near where Thompson fell by the same party, but he survived it, and lived to be an old man. Governor Sullivan, who knew him, says, "his life was miserable; he wore a silver caul on his head, went on crutches, had the use of only one hand, and was subject to strong convulsion fits." *Sullivan's Maine, p.* 252.]

[‡ The late Samuel Welch, who died at Bow, 5 April, 1823, at the age of 112, recollected this event, and related to the writer of this note some of the particulars of it, about a month before his death. He stated that Peter Colcord, Ebenezer Stevens and Benjamin Severence, and two or three children of Mr. Stevens', were taken by the Indians; that Colcord made his escape, and that the children of Mr. Stevens were afterwards redeemed. He also recollected the family of Jabez Colman, who was killed in 1724, (mentioned by Penhallow under that year) and stated that Colman was shot with two balls, one passing through his neck, and the other through his hip.— *Vol.* 1 *N. H. Hist. Soc. col.*]

three Indian packs, upon which he informed the troops that were then coming out. He, with his son, went before as guides, but by an ambushment, were both shot dead. The English then fired on them, who killed one, and wounded two more, but could not find either of the latter, although they tracked them by their blood some way. The assembly of New-Hampshire then sitting, ordered the aforesaid sum of one hundred pounds to be paid.

The next damage they did, was at Groton, but were so closely pursued, that they left several of their packs behind. About which time, news came to Deerfield of a body of Indians discovered up Connecticut river. Capt. Thomas Wells rallied a company of men, and went in quest of them, but made no further discovery, till, upon their return home, about four miles from Deerfield, three of the company (supposing themselves out of danger) rode at some distance before the rest, and unhappily fell into an ambushment of the enemy near a swamp, and were all three killed by them. But the company behind hearing the guns, rode up with all speed, and came upon the enemy while they were scalping the slain; and firing upon them, wounded several. Upon which the enemy fled into the swamp, and the English dismounting their horses, ran in after them, and tracked them a considerable way by the blood of the wounded, but found none. However, they recovered ten packs, and heard afterwards that two died of their wounds, and a third lost the use of his arm. Another company fell on Spurwink, where they mortally wounded Solomon Jordan, as he was coming out of the garrison. Next day, being July the 18th, Lieut. Bean went in quest of them, and came up with a scout of thirty, whom he engaged and put to flight, leaving twenty-five packs, twelve blankets, a gun, a hatchet, and sundry other things behind them.*

[* Rev. Dr Holmes informs us, that in the copy of Penhallow in possession of the Massachusetts Historical

The enemy not finding so great encouragement in attacking our frontiers as they expected, were now resolved to turn pirates, and accordingly intercepted several of our fishery as they went in and out the harbours for wood, water, or in case of storms, and accordingly made up a fleet of fifty canoes, who designed at first for Mohegen,† but going through the Fox Islands, and seeing several vessels at anchor, surprized eight with little or no opposition; in which were forty men, twenty of whom they put to death, reserving the skippers and best sailors to navigate for them. After this, they took fourteen more; and with the assistance of the Cape Sable Indians, became so powerful and desperate, that at first they terrified all vessels that sailed along the eastern shore. They then went to St. Georges with a design to burn that garrison; in order whereto, they filled a couple of shallops with combustible matter, which they set on fire, but it was happily extinguished. They then offered terms on surrendering, which were rejected. And finding that neither force nor insinuation would prevail, they withdrew, and sailed to Annapolis, expecting to surprize the fort; but firing at a soldier in their march, gave an alarm; and a detachment issued forth, who, after a smart dispute, gave them a perfect rout, but not without loss on our side.‡

The fishery being thus invaded, two shallops with about forty men well fixed, went from New-Hampshire, who fairly came up with one of them, but through cowardice and folly were afraid

Society, there is an advertisement at the end, desiring the reader to correct a great omission in page 105 [of this edition] viz. "In the article relating to Lieut. Bean and Company, at the bottom of the page, it should have been added, one of their principal Indians was killed, and his scalp brought to Boston, for which said Bean and company received an hundred pounds.—*Vol. 1 N. H. Hist Soc. col.*]

[† An Island on the east side of Kennebeck river, and about 10 miles from the main: celebrated as the place where Capt. John Smith landed in 1614; here he built some houses, the remains of which were to be seen, when Judge Sullivan wrote his History of Maine. It is spelt Moheagan.—*Drake's French and Indian Wars, p.* 222.]

[‡ June 27, 1724, Ebenezer Shelden, Thomas Cotton, and Jeremiah English (a friend Indian) were killed at Deerfield. July 10, Lieut. Timothy Childs and Samuel Allen, were wounded in returning from their labor in the field.—*Appendix to Wiliams' Narrative.*]

to engage them. However, Dr. Jackson from Kittery, and Sylvanus Lakeman from Ipswich, with a lesser number, gave them chase, and fired very smartly with their small arms, although the enemy had two great guns and four pateraroes, which cut their shrouds and hindered their pursuit for some time: but being fixed again, they followed them with greater resolution, and drove them into Penobscot, where a greater body being ready to cover them, he was forced to desist. The Doctor and Mr. Cutt were dangerously wounded in this engagement, but some time after, recovered. This storm of the enemy by sea, produced no calm ashore.

At Rutland, they killed three men, wounded one, and took another;* and at Oxford, beset a house that lay under a hill, but as one of the enemy attempted to break through the roof, he was shot by a woman of the house.† The sabbath now became a day of danger in which they often did mischief, as at Dover, Oyster river, and Berwick, where they killed one, wounded a second, and carried away a third.

Capt. Harmon, Moulton, Brown and Bean, were now preparing for Norridgewock, with two hundred men in seventeen whale-boats. After they landed at Triconnick, they met with Bomazeen at Brunswick, (who had slain an Englishman some days before) whom they shot in the river, as he attempted to make an escape. They afterwards killed his daughter, and took his wife captive; who gave an account of the state of the enemy, which encouraged them to march on briskly; and on August 12th, they got within two miles of the place. Capt. Harmon drew off with about sixty men to range their corn fields, in hopes of

[*This was on the 3d of August, 1724, and was the last mischief done at Rutland.]

[†The enemy, four in number, made a breach in the roof, and as one of them was attempting to enter, he received a shot in his belly from a courageous woman, the only person in the house, but who had two muskets and two pistols charged, and was prepared for all four; but they thought fit to retreat, carrying off the dead or wounded man. This was on the 6th of August.—*Vol. 1 N. H. Hist. Soc. col.*]

finding some there, imagining they saw some smokes; while Capt. Moulton, with about an hundred men moved forward, and when he came within view of the town, artfully divided them into three squadrons, of thirty in each; having ordered ten to guard their baggage, and a squadron on each wing to lie in ambush, while he with the like number encountered them in the front. He went on with such resolution, that he got within pistol shot before he was discovered. The Indians were under amazing terror; yet in their surprize some of them snatched up their guns and fired: but their hands shook and they did no execution. They immediately betook themselves to flight, and in running fell on the very muzzles of our guns that lay in ambush. Our men pursued them so warmly, that several were slain on the spot: more got into their canoes, and others ran into the river; which was so rapid, and the falls in some places so great, that many of them were drowned. By this time Capt. Harmon came up, who was not so happy as to discover any of the enemy where he expected. The number of the dead which we scalped, were twenty-six, besides Monsieur Ralle* the Jesuit, who was a bloody incendiary, and instrumental to most of the mischiefs that were done us, by preaching up the doctrine of meriting salvation by the destruction of hereticks.† Some say

[* Sebastian Ralle died in the 67th year of his age, after a painful mission of 37 years; 26 of which were spent at Norridgwock. Previous to his residence at this place, he spent six years in travelling among the Indian nations in the interior parts of America; and learned most of their languages. "Il Sçavoit presque toute les langues, qu'on parle dans ce vaste continent." He was a man of good sense, learning, and address; and by a gentle, condescending deportment, and a compliance with the Indian mode of life, he obtained an entire ascendency over the natives; and used his influence to promote the interests of the French among them. "He even made the offices of devotion serve as incentives to their ferocity; and kept a flag, in which was depicted a cross, surrounded by bows and arrows, which he used to hoist on a pole at the door of his church, when he gave them absolution, previously to their engaging in any warlike enterprise." A dictionary of the Norridgwock language, composed by Father Ralle, was found among his papers; and it was deposited in the Library of Harvard College. There is this memorandum on it: "1691. Il y a un an que je suis parmi les sauveges je commence a mettre en ordre en forme de dictionaire les mots que j'apprens." It is a quarto volume of about 500 pages.—*Belknap's. Hist. of N. Hampshire, Vol. II, p. 60.—Charlevoix Nouv France, Vol. II, pp. 376—385.*]

[† There is a valuable memoir of Ralle in the Collections of Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. VIII, p. 250, in which his character is more favourably represented than in the above account: it seems that the account in the text is not perfectly correct.—*Vol. 1 N. H. Hist. Soc. col.*]

that quarter was offered him, which he refused, and would neither give nor take any. After this, they burnt and destroyed the chapel, canoes, and all the cottages that lay round; they also took four Indians alive, and recovered three captives.

The number in all that were killed and drowned were supposed to be eighty, but some say more; the greatest victory we have obtained in the three or four last wars: and it may be as noble an exploit (all things considered) as ever happened in the time of king Philip. About seventy French Mohawks were now making a descent on our frontiers, who divided into several parties and killed a great number of cattle. Some of them fell on the house of John Hanson of Dover, who being a stiff quaker, full of enthusiasm, and ridiculing the military power, would on no account be influenced to come into garrison; by which means his whole family (then at home) being eight in number, were all killed and taken. But some time after, his wife and two or three of his children, were redeemed with considerable pains and expense.

September 4th, they fell on Dunstable, and took two* in the

[* The persons taken were Nathan Cross and Thomas Blanchard, who had been engaged in the manufacture of turpentine on the north side of Nashua river, near where Nashua village now stands. At that time, there were no houses or settlements on that side of the river. These men had been in the habit of returning every night to lodge in a saw-mill on the other side. That night they came not as usual. An alarm was given; it was feared they had fallen into the hands of the Indians. A party consisting of ten of the principal inhabitants of the place started in search of them, under the direction of one French, a sergeant of militia. In this company was Farwell, who was afterwards lieutenant under Lovewell. When this party arrived at the spot where the men had been labouring, they found the hoops of the barrel cut, and the turpentine spread upon the ground. From certain marks upon the trees made with coal mixed with grease, they understood that the men were taken and carried off alive. In the course of the examination, Farwell perceived the turpentine had not ceased spreading, and called the attention of his comrades to this circumstance. They concluded that the Indians had been gone but a short time, and must still be near, and decided upon an instant pursuit. Farwell advised them to take a circuitous rout, to avoid an ambush. But unfortunately he and French had a short time previous had a misunderstanding, and were then at variance. French imputed this advice to cowardice, and called out, "I am going to take the direct path; if any of you are not afraid, let him follow me." French led the way and the whole party followed, Farwell falling in the rear. Their route was up the Merrimack, towards which they bent their course to look for their horses upon the interval. At the brook near Lutwyche's (now Thornton's) ferry, they were way-laid. The Indians fired upon them, and killed the larger part instantly. A few fled, but were overtaken and destroyed. French was killed about a mile from the place of action, under an oak tree now standing in a field belonging to Mr. Lund in Merrimack. Farwell in the rear, seeing those before him fall, sprung behind a tree, discharged his piece and ran. Two Indians pursued him: the chase was vigorously maintained for some time without gaining

evening: next morning, Lieut. French, with fourteen men, went in quest of them; but being way-laid, both he and one half of his company were destroyed. After that, as many more of a fresh company engaged them, but the enemy being much superior in number overpowered them, with the loss of one man and four wounded.

On the Monday after, they killed Jabez Coleman of Kingston, with his son, as they were gathering corn stalks. About the same time, Nathaniel Edwards of Northampton was killed: and the next day, the same company of Indians went to Westfield, and fell on several people as they were coming out of the meadows with their carts loaded, and wounding one man had certainly taken him, but some of our men bravely faced about, and attempted a shot upon them. But their guns all missing fire except Mr. Noah Ashley's, his went off and shot down one of the enemy, which put a stop to their further pursuit of the English. Hereupon a company rallied, and went after the enemy, and quickly found the Indian whom Ashley had slain. And taking the scalp, said Ashley brought it to Boston, and received one hundred pounds reward for it. And now a regiment of fresh men under the command of Col. Westbrook were preparing for Penobscot, one of their chief places of rendezvous for planting and fishing; but by the unskillfulness of his guides, were led into a labyrinth of difficulties, and after a long fatigue returned without any discovery.

Capt. Lovewell† from Dunstable, with thirty volunteers, at

much advantage, till Farwell passing through a thicket, the Indians lost sight of him, and fearing he might have loaded again, they desisted. He was the only one of the company that escaped. A company from the neighborhood mustered upon the news of this disaster, proceeded to the fatal spot, took up the bodies of their friends and townsmen and interred them in the burying ground in Dunstable. Blanchard and Cross were carried to Canada: after remaining there some time, they succeeded by their own exertions in effecting their redemption and returned to their native town, where their descendants are still living.—*Relation of Col. E. Bancroft, of Tyngsborough, Mass.*

[† Capt. John Lovewell lived in Dunstable, New-Hampshire, then Massachusetts. "He was a son of Zacheus Lovewell, an ensign in the army of Oliver Cromwell, who came to this country and settled at Dunstable, where he died at the age of one hundred and twenty years; the oldest white man who ever died in the State of New-Hampshire."—*Farmer's & Moore's Collections*, Vol. *III*, p. 64.

the same time went northward, who marching several miles up the country, came on a wigwam wherein were two Indians, one of which they killed and the other took, for which they received the promised bounty of one hundred pounds a scalp, and two shillings and six pence a day besides.

Other companies were disposed to go out on the like encouragement, but did not see the track of an Indian; being under such amazing terror, by reason of their late overthrow at Norridgewock, that they deserted their former habitation; for when Capt. Heath went to Penobscot, he made no other discovery than a few empty wigwams.

The government (being thoroughly apprized of the perfidy of the French at Canada, in supplying the Indians with all necessary stores of war, notwithstanding the peace at Utrecht, so firmly ratified between the two Crowns) sent Col. Thaxter and Col. Dudley from the Massachusetts, with Mr. Atkinson from New-Hampshire, as commissioners to represent the many grievances that arose thereby; as also to demand the several captives which they had of ours, and that hence-forward they would withdraw all manner of assistance from the enemy. For as they were Indians bordering between both governments, they belonged either to the dominion of Great Britain, or unto the French King; if to the French King, then consequently they were his subjects, and the encouraging or supplying them with warlike stores against the English, was a flagrant violation of the peace between the two Crowns; if they belonged to the King of Great Britain, then the exciting them to a war was as great a breach, and the stirring them up to a rebellion, contrary unto their allegiance and submission in the year 1693, which was afterwards renewed in the year 1713, and 1717.

Our gentlemen in their journey to Quebeck, met the Governor at Montreal unto whom they delivered this message: upon

which the Governor seemed to extenuate his supplying or countenancing them in any act of hostility; till they made it evident from letters under his hand unto Monsieur Ralle, the Jesuit and father confessor. But to palliate the matter, he replied, they were an independent nation, and that as the captives were out of his reach he would not engage therein. But as to those among the French, he would order them to be released upon paying the first cost they had given the Indians. This we were obliged to do, after an exorbitant manner; and in the whole, got but sixteen, with the promise of ten more. Notwithstanding this, he would often reflect on the English for invading the properties of the Indians, till our commissioners demonstrated that we possessed no more than what we purchased, and had formerly inhabited; and inasmuch as the boundaries between the two Crowns were firmly fixed, that all the Indians inhabiting this side L'Accadia, must of consequence belong to the Crown of Great Britain. After this, our gentlemen departed, acknowledging the kind entertainment which his Excellency had given them; who ordered a guard to attend them part of their way home.

But the difficulties and hazards that they met with in their journey, were great and terrible. It took them full four months. The lake they passed over was a hundred and fifty miles long and thirty wide, which was covered with water four inches on the surface of the ice. The first place they came to was Chamblee, where is a strong fortification, 200 foot square, and 30 foot high, with four bastions, in which are four tiers of guns, one above another. From thence they travelled to Montreal, which is an island of 30 miles long and 12 wide, lying in the middle of the river commonly called St. Lawrence's river; about 180 miles up from Quebeck, navigable for vessels of about 100 tons. This city (of Montreal) lies near the middle, walled round with stone

and lime sixteen foot high and three thick, but no battery or fortification; in which are three churches, two chapels, two nunneries, and two streets of three quarters of a mile in length; containing about 400 houses. Their trade is mostly in furs, which they transport to Quebeck, and from thence to France.

Capt. Lovewell, who was endowed with a generous spirit and resolution of serving his country, and well acquainted with hunting the woods, raised a new company of volunteers, and marched some miles beyond their common head-quarters: on the easterly side of Winnepiseogee* ponds, he crossed an Indian track, and soon after espied two of them, whose motions he watched all the day, and at night silently came upon them as they lay asleep round their fire. At his first firing, he killed seven, after that, two more, and wounded another, which was their whole company:† who being within a day and a half's march of our frontiers, would probably have done mischief, had they not been so seasonably prevented. Their arms were so new and good, that most of them were sold for seven pounds apiece, and each of them had two blankets, with a great many spare maccasons, which were supposed for the supplying of captives that they expected to have taken. The plunder was but a few skins; but during the march, our men were well entertained with moose, bear, and deer, together with salmon-trout, some of which were three feet long, and weighed twelve pounds apiece.

April 13th, 1725, there came two Indians to Maquoit,‡ and took one Cockram, a soldier of about eighteen years of age, whom they carried thirty miles into the woods. The first night they pinioned him, but left him loose the second. He took an oppor-

[* Winnepissocay, in copy.]

[† The brave company, with the ten scalps stretched on hoops and poles, entered Dover in triumph, and proceeded thence to Boston; where they received the bounty of one hundred pounds for each, out of the public treasury.—*Belknap's Hist. of N Hampshire, Vol. II, p.* 63.

[‡ Maquoit is a bay, which lies about 20 miles north of Cape Elizabeth.—*Sullivan, p.* 14.]

tunity (as they were asleep) to knock them both on the head, scalped them and brought their scalps away with him, and their guns. But in his return, he was so unhappy as to lose a gun, and one of the scalps in fording a river. When he came to the garrison and gave an account of the whole affair, there went out a party the next morning, and found the Indians both dead according to the information that he had given. He was not only rewarded according to the act, but was advanced in his post, for his brave action, and for the encouragement of others.

On the Monday after, came another party to Yarmouth, where they slew William and Matthew Scales, which was a great weakening to that garrison, being very active and industrious men, and the principal supporters thereof.

After this, they went to Cape Porpoise and waylaid Lieut. Trescott with some others, as they were passing along the road, whom they fired on, and wounded the said Trescott in several places.

A vessel from Canso, about this time arriving, brought an account of seventy Indians that fell on an out-house in view of the garrison, where they killed seven men, one woman and a child, and from thence went to Capt. Durell's Island, where they beset a fortified house in which were only four, who engaged them several hours; one of which was in a little time shot through a loop-hole, but the remaining three held out and defended themselves with such bravery, that the enemy was obliged to draw off with considerable loss.

Capt. Lovewell being still animated with an uncommon zeal of doing what service he could, made another attempt on Pigwacket* with forty-four men; who in his going built a small

[*Situated on the upper part of the river Saco, then 50 miles from any white settlement, (*ib.* 1, 27,) which had been the residence of a formidable tribe, and which they still occasionally inhabited. It is in the present town of Freyeburg, Maine.—*Belknap's N. Hampshire, p.* 63.—*Drake's Appendix to Indian Wars, p.* 33.]

fort* near Ossipee, to have recourse unto in case of danger, as also for the relief of any that might be sick or wounded; and having one of his men at this time sick, he left the doctor with eight men more to guard him: with the rest of his company, he proceeded in quest of the enemy, who on May the 8th, about ten in the morning, forty miles from said fort, near Saco pond,† he saw an Indian on a point of land: upon which they immediately put off their blankets and knapsacks, and made towards him; concluding that the enemy were ahead and not in the rear. Yet they were not without some apprehensions of their being discovered two days before, and that the appearing of one Indian in so bold a manner, was on purpose to ensnare them. Wherefore, the Captain calling his men together, proposed whether it was best to engage them or not; who boldly replied, "that as they came out on purpose to meet the enemy, they would rather trust providence with their lives and die for their country, than return without seeing them." Upon this, they proceeded and mortally wounded the Indian, who notwithstanding returned the fire, and wounded Capt. Lovewell in the belly. Upon which Mr. Wyman fired and killed him.‡ But their dismantling themselves at this juncture, proved an unhappy snare; for the enemy taking their baggage, knew their strength by the number of their packs, where they lay in ambush till they re-

[*About half way between a remarkable Indian mound in Ossipee, and the western shore of Ossipee Lake, "are the remains of the fort built by the brave Capt. Lovewell, just before he fell in the celebrated battle near Lovewell's pond, in Freyeburg."—*Farmer's & Moore's coll., Vol. I, p.* 46.]

[†Some call this Lovewell's poud; but Lovewell's pond is in Wakefield, where he some time before captured a company of Indians, who were on their way to attack some of the frontier towns.—*Drake's Appendix to Indian Wars, p.* 331.]

[‡This Indian has been celebrated as a hero, and ranked with the Roman Curtius, who devoted himself to death to save his country. (*See Hutchinson's History, Vol. II, p.* 315.) Having been on the spot where this celebrated action happened, and having conversed with persons who were acquainted with the Indians of Pigwacket, before and after this battle, I am convinced that there is no foundation for the idea that he was placed there to decoy; and that he had no claim to the character of a hero. The point on which he stood is a noted fishing place; the gun which alarmed Lovewell's company, was fired at a flock of ducks; and when they met him, he was returning home with his game and two fowling pieces. The village was situated at the edge of the Saco river, which here forms a large bend. The remains of the stockades were found by the first settlers, forty years afterward. The pond is in the township of Frieburg.—*Belknap's Hist. of N. Hampshire, pp.* 65—66.]

turned, and made the first shot; which our men answered with much bravery, and advancing within twice the length of their guns, slew nine.* The encounter was smart and desperate, and the victory seemed to be in our favor, till Capt. Lovewell with several more were slain and wounded, to the number of twelve: upon which our men were forced to retreat unto a pond,† between which and the enemy was a ridge of ground that proved a barrier unto us. The engagement continued ten hours, but although the shouts of the enemy were at first loud and terrible, yet after some time they became sensibly low and weak, and their appearance to lessen. Now whether it was through want of ammunition, or on the account of those that were slain and wounded, that the enemy retreated, certain it is, they first drew off and left the ground. And although many of our men were much enfeebled by reason of their wounds, yet none of the enemy pursued them in their return. Their number was uncertain, but by the advice which we afterwards received, they were seventy in the whole, whereof forty were said to be killed upon the spot, eighteen more died of their wounds, and that twelve only returned. An unhappy instance at this time fell out respecting one of our men, who when the fight began, was so dreadfully terrified, that he ran away unto the fort, telling those who were there, that Capt. Lovewell was killed with most of his men; which put them into so great a consternation, that they all drew off, leaving a bag of bread and pork behind, in case any of their company might return and be in distress.

[*Both parties advanced with their guns presented, and when they came within "a few yardes," they fired on both sides. "The Indians fell in considerable numbers, but the English, most, if not all of them, escaped the first shot."—*Drake's Appendix to Indian Wars, p.* 332.]

[†Hoping to be sheltered by a point of rocks which ran into the pond, and a few large pine trees standing on a sandy beach, in this forlorn place they took their station. On their right was the mouth of a brook, at that time unfordable; on their left, was the rocky point; their front was partly covered by a deep bog, and partly uncovered; and the pond was in their rear. The enemy galled them in front and flank, and had them so completely in their power, that had they made a prudent use of their advantage, the whole company must either have been killed, or obliged to surrender at discretion.—*Belknap's Hist. of N. Hampshire, Vol. II, pp.* 66—67.]

The whole that we lost in the engagement were fifteen, besides those that were wounded. Eleazar Davis of Concord, was the last that got in, who first came to Berwick and then to Portsmouth, where he was carefully provided for, and had a skilful surgeon to attend him. The report he gave me was, that after Capt. Lovewell was killed, and Lieut. Farwell and Mr. Robbins wounded,* that ensign Wyman took upon him the command of the shattered company, who behaved himself with great prudence and courage, by animating the men and telling them, "that the day would yet be their own, if their spirits did not flag;" which enlivened them anew, and caused them to fire so briskly, that several discharged between twenty and thirty times apiece. He further added, that Lieut. Farwell, with Mr. Frye, their chaplain, Josiah Jones, and himself, who were all wounded, marched towards the fort; but Jones steered another way, and after a long fatigue and hardship, got safe into Saco. Mr. Frye three days after, through the extremity of his wounds, began to faint and languish, and died. He was a very worthy and promising young gentleman, the bud of whose youth was but just opening into a flower.†

Mr. Jacob Fullam, who was an officer and an only son, distinguished himself with much bravery. One of the first that was killed was by his right hand; and when ready to encounter a second, it is said that he and his adversary fell at the very instant by each other's shot. Mr. Farwell held out in his return till the eleventh day; during which time he had nothing to eat but water and a few roots which he chewed; and by this time the wounds through his body were so mortified, that the worms

[* The Indians invited them to surrender, by holding up ropes to them, and endeavoured to intimidate them by their hideous yells; till just before night, they quitted their advantageous ground, carrying off their killed and wounded, and leaving the dead bodies of Lovewell and his men unscalped.—*Belknap's Hist. of N. Hampshire, Vol. II, p.* 67.]

[† He fell about the middle of the afternoon. He was the only son of Capt. James Frye of Andover, graduated at Harvard College in 1723, and was chaplain of the company.—*Drake's Appendix to Indian Wars, p.* 334.]

made a thorough passage. The same day, this Davis caught a fish which he broiled, and was greatly refreshed therewith; but the Lieutenant was so much spent, that he could not taste a bit. Davis being now alone, in a melancholy desolate state, still made toward the fort, and next day came to it, where he found some pork and bread, by which he was enabled to return as beforementioned.

Just as I had finished this account, I saw the historical memoirs of the ingenious Mr. Symmes,* wherein I find two things remarkable, which I had no account of before: one was of Lieut. Robbins, who being sensible of his dying state, desired one of the company to charge his gun and leave it with him, being persuaded that the Indians, by the morning, would come and scalp him, but was desirous of killing one more before he died. The other was of Solomon Kies, who being wounded in three places, lost so much blood as disabled him to stand any longer; but in the heat of the battle, calling to Mr. Wyman said, he was a dead man; however, said that if it was possible, he would endeavour to creep into some obscure hole, rather than be insulted by these bloody Indians: but by a strange providence, as he was creeping away, he saw a canoe in the pond, which he rolled himself into, and by a favorable wind (without any assistance of his own) was driven so many miles on, that he got safe unto the fort.

In 1 Sam. xxxi, 11, 12, 13, it is recorded to the immortal honor of the men of Jabesh Gilead, that when some of their renowned heroes fell by the hand of the Philistines, that they prepared a decent burial for their bodies.

Now so soon as the report came of Capt. Lovewell's defeat,†

[* Rev. Thomas Symmes of Bradford, Mass., whose Memoir of Lovewell's fight is published entire in the first volume of *Farmer & Moore's Collections.*]

[† This account of Lovewell's battle is collected from the authorities cited in the margin, and from the verbal information of aged and intelligent persons. The names of the dead, on the trees, and the holes where balls had entered and been cut out, were plainly visible, when I was on the spot in 1784. The trees had the appearance of being very old, and one of them was fallen.—*Belknap's Hist. of N. Hampshire, Vol. II, p.* 70.]

about fifty men from New-Hampshire well equipped, marched unto Pequackett for the like end, but were not so happy as to find them: but Col. Tyng, from Dunstable, with Capt. White who went afterwards, buried twelve; where at a little distance they found three Indians, among whom was Paugus,* a vile and bloody wretch. Now the reason why no more of the enemy could be found, was because it is customary among them to conceal their dead, and bury them in some places of obscurity.

Give me leave here again to relate, (as I did before respecting Col. Hilton) that six or eight days before Capt. Lovewell was defeated, we had a current report several miles round of his being so, with little or no variation, both as to time and circumstances.

Our encountering the enemy at such a distance was so terrible and surprizing, that they never found any body after. And though our actions in this war can bear no comparison with those of our British forces, (which have caused the world to wonder) yet not to mention the bravery of these worthies, who died in the bed of honor, and for the interest of their country, would be a denying them the honor that is due unto their memory, and a burying them in oblivion.†

> The mourning drum, the lance and ensign's trail,
> The robes of honor all in sable veil.

Mr. Wyman, who distinguished himself in such a signal

[* Many of Lovewell's men knew Paugus personally. A huge bear's skin formed a part of his dress. From Mr. Symme's account, it appears that John Chamberlain killed him. They had spoken together some time in the fight, and afterwards both happened to go to the pond to wash out their guns, which were rendered useless by so frequent firing. Here the challenge was given by Paugus, "It is you or I." As soon as the guns were prepared, they fired, and Paugus fell.—*Drake's Appendix to Indian Wars, p.* 234.]

[† This was one of the most fierce and obstinate battles which had been fought with the Indians. They had not only the advantage of numbers, but of placing themselves in ambush, and waiting with deliberation the moment of attack. These circumstances gave them a degree of ardor and impetuosity. Lovewell and his men, though disappointed of meeting the enemy in their front, expected and determined to fight. The fall of their commander and more than one quarter of their number, in the first onset, was greatly discouraging; but they knew the situation to which they were reduced, and their distance from the frontiers, cut off all hope of safety by flight. In these circumstances, prudence as well as valor, dictated a continuance of the engagement, and a refusal to surrender; until the enemy, awed by their brave resistance, and weakened by their own loss, yielded them the honor of the field. After this encounter, the Indians resided no more at Pigwacket, till the peace.—2 *Belknap, p.* 69, 70.]

manner, was, at his return, presented with a silver hilted sword, and a captain's commission. Edward Lingfield was also made an ensign, and the general assembly (to shew a grateful acknowledgment to the soldiers, and a compassionate sympathy unto the widows and orphans,) ordered the sum of fifteen hundred pounds to be given them, under a certain regulation. And for a further encouragement of volunteers, ordered four shillings a day out of the public to be paid every one that would enlist, besides the bounty of one hundred pounds a scalp. Upon which a great many brave men, under the command of Capt. White, Capt. Wyman, and others, went out, but the extremity of the heat prevented their marching far. Many of them sickened of the bloody flux, and some died after their return; particularly, Capt. White and Capt. Wyman, whose deaths were very much lamented.

Saquarexis, and Nebine, one a hostage, and the other a prisoner belonging to the English, being desirous of visiting their old acquaintance, had liberty granted them on their parole; who after some time returned and gave an account, that the Indians were generally disposed to a peace, for that the losses they met with, and the daily terror they were under, made their lives miserable. After this, they went out again, and meeting with several others, they represented their ready desires of having a treaty of pacification with the English. Upon which Col. Walton,* from New-Hampshire, Col. Stoddard and Mr. Wainwright, from the Massachusetts, were appointed commissioners to go unto St. George's, to hear and report what they had to offer. They arrived there, July the second, and sent the said two Indians with a letter unto their chiefs, letting them know that they were come; who in six days after, appeared under a flag of truce.

[*Col Walton lived at Somersworth. He was dismissed from service, and was succeeded by Col. Thomas Westbrook.—*Vol. 1 N. H. Hist. Soc. col.*]

Capt. Bean, the interpreter, was sent to meet them. They brought a letter from Winnenimmit their chief Sagamore, which was wrote in French. The import of which was, to congratulate the gentlemen's arrival on a design of peace, which they earnestly desired to treat about, provided they might do it safely; being under some fear and jealousy. And indeed they had cause of being so, for that about ten days before under a flag of truce, some of the English treacherously attempted to lay violent hands upon them, but lost one in the skirmish, and had another wounded, which was the occasion of the like unhappy disaster that afterwards happened unto Capt. Saunders, in Penobscot Bay. They then moved, that inasmuch as many of their men were scattered, (being out a hunting) that our gentlemen would stay a little, which they consented to. And five days after, seven came in under a flag of truce, making the usual signal; and informing the commissioners they would wait on them to-morrow; who after a friendly entertainment were dismissed. The next day, their whole body came within a quarter of a mile of the garrison, desiring the English to come to them; which they refused, saying, that they were sent from the several governments to hear what they had to offer; but assured them that if they came to them, no injury should be offered. After a short consultation they complied, provided that the English would engage it in the name of God. And then they sent in thirteen of their chiefs, expecting the like number of English to be sent them. So soon as they met, the commissioners demanded what they had to offer, who complimented them with the great satisfaction they had in seeing them in so peaceable a disposition, and that it was also the intent and desire of their hearts. It was then asked wherefore they made war upon the English? who replied, because of their encroachments upon their lands so far westward as Cape Nawagen, where two of their men, as they

said, were beaten to death. Upon which it was answered, that that very land was bought by the English, and that the deeds from their predecessors were ready to be shewn; and admitting it was true what they said, that the English did so inhumanly beat two of their Indians, yet it was not justifiable in them (according to the articles of peace) to commence a war at once, without first making application to the government, who at all times were ready to do them justice.

This conference being over, they proposed a further treaty, which after some debate, was resolved to be at Boston. They then moved for a cessation of arms, but our commissioners, having no power, replied, that if they went to Boston, it might probably be granted. But in the mean time moved that each party should be on their guard, for that it was the custom of nations to carry on the war on both sides till matters were fully concluded. The Indians replied that as they desired peace, they were resolved in calling in their young men, promising for themselves and those also of their tribe, that no hostility should be formed against us.

The treaty being over, Capt. Loran and Ahanquid, who were two of their chiefs, accompanied our gentlemen to Boston, where they were friendly entertained, and after a capitulation of matters, returned in a vessel prepared on purpose, with a promise of bringing more of their chiefs with them in forty days after their arrival, for a final issue of all differences.

Several constructions and censures were passed on this treaty; some thinking the English were more forward for a peace than the Indians, and that as we now knew their head quarters, might easily destroy their corn, and disrest them in their fishery, which would bring them to a ready composition. Although the Penobscot Indians seemed guarantee for the other tribes, yet as we knew them treacherous, we could put no confidence in them,

but rather lay ourselves open unto a snare, and become the more secure! Something like this accordingly fell out; for on September 15th, a party of them fell on some of Cocheco while at work in the field, where they slew one, scalped another, cut off the head of a third, and carried a fourth captive; all which belonged to the family of the Evans'.*

A few days after, another party attacked a garrison at North Yarmouth, but were so stoutly repulsed that they made no impression; but at their drawing off, killed several cattle. Two days after, some appeared at Mowsum, and then at Damaris Cove, which lies eastward of Kennebeck, and is two leagues within the line agreed upon; where they took and burnt two shallops which belonged to Stephen Hunuel and Alexander Soaper, who with five men and a boy, they carried to the Winniganse, and knocked him on the head. Some conjectured these Indians came from Canada; others, that they belonged to the eastward, for that an English jacket was afterwards seen on one of them; but the eastern Indians laid it on the other.

At the same time the English had several companies out at Ameriscoggin, Rockamagug, Norridgwock, &c.; where Col. Harmon and others went, but made no discovery. Some thought that we hereby infringed on the articles made between them and us, unto which it may be replied, that these places were not within the Penobscot line; and although they promised

[*The Indians had come down to Cocheco, with a design to take the family of Hanson again. When they had come near the house, they observed some people at work in a neighboring field, by which it was necessary for them to pass, both in going and returning. This obliged them to alter their purpose, and conceal themselves in a barn, till they were ready to attack them. Two women passed by the barn while they were in it, and had just reached the garrison as the guns were fired. They shot Benjamin Evans dead on the spot; wounded William Evans and cut his throat. John Evans received a slight wound in the breast, which bleeding plentifully, deceived them, and thinking him dead, they stripped and scalped him. He bore the painful operation without discovering any signs of life, though all the time in his perfect senses, and continued in the feigned appearance of death, till they turned him over, and struck him several blows with their guns, and left him for dead. After they were gone off, he rose and walked, naked and bloody, towards the garrison; but on meeting his friends by the way, dropped, fainting on the ground, and being covered with a blanket, was conveyed to the house. He recovered and lived fifty years. A pursuit was made after the enemy, but they got off undiscovered, carrying with them Benjamin Evans, Jr. a lad of 13, to Canada, whence he was afterwards redeemed.—2 *Belknap*, 80.]

to do what they could in restraining others from falling on the English, yet as several scouts from other places were then out, they could not absolutely engage for them; wherefore it was now requisite for us to secure our frontiers.*

About the 28th September, 1725, Capt Dwight of fort Dummer, sent out a scout of six men, west, who being upon their return sat down to refresh themselves; and hearing a noise like running, looked up, and saw fourteen Indians just upon them. Our men fired at the enemy, but were soon overpowered by the Indians, who killed two, took three, and one escaped.

The forty days beforementioned, for coming in of the Penobscot Indians, with those of the other tribes, being nearly twice expired, gave great uneasiness for fear of some mischief that was designed. But in the beginning of November, the several Captains hereafter mentioned came in, viz., Sauguaaram, alias Sorun, Arexus, Francois Xavier, Meganumba, where the following submission and agreement was concluded on.

The submission and agreement of the delegates of the eastern Indians.

WHEREAS the several tribes of eastern Indians, viz., the Penobscot, Norridgwock, St. John's, Cape Sables, and other tribes inhabiting within his Majesty's territories of New-England and Nova-Scotia, who have been engaged in the present war, from whom we *Sauguaaram*, alias *Sorun*, *Arexus*, *Francois-Xavier*, *and Meganumba*, are delegated and fully empowered to enter into articles of pacification with his Majesty's governments of the

[*August 25, 1725, deacon Field, deacon Childs, and others, were going up to Green river farms, and were ambushed by the Indians, but they discovered the Indians, and John Wells discharged his gun at an Indian, who fell; the Indians fired at them, and wounded deacon Samuel Field, the ball passing through the right hypocondria, cutting off three plaits of the mysenteria, which hung out of the wound, in length almost two inches, which was cut off even with the body, the bullet passing between the lowest and the next rib, cutting, at its going forth, the lowest rib: his hand being close to the body when the ball came forth, it entered at the root of the heel of the thumb, cutting the bone of the fore finger, and, resting between the fore and second finger, was cut out, and all the wounds were cured in less than five weeks, by doctor Thomas Hastings.—*App. to Williams' Narrative, p.* 112.]

Massachusetts Bay, New-Hampshire and Nova-Scotia; have, contrary to the several treaties they have solemnly entered into with the said governments, made an open rupture, and have continued some years in acts of hostility against the subjects of his Majesty King George, within the said governments; they being now sensible of the miseries and troubles they have involved themselves in, and being desirous to be restored to his Majesty's grace and favor, and to live in peace with all his Majesty's subjects of the said three governments and the province of New-York and colonies of Connecticut and Rhode-Island, and that all former acts of injury be forgotten: have concluded to make, and we do by these presents in the name and behalf of the said tribes, make our submission unto his most excellent Majesty George, by the grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland, king, defender of the faith &c., in as full and ample manner as any of our predecessors have heretofore done.

And we do hereby promise and engage with the Hon. William Dummer, Esq. as he is Lieut. Governor and commander-in-chief, of his majesty's province of the Massachusetts Bay, and with the governors or commanders-in-chief of the said province, for the time being: that is to say—

We, the said delegates, for, and in behalf of the several tribes aforesaid, do promise and engage—That at all times, forever, from and after the date of these presents, we and they will cease and forbear all acts of hostility, injuries and discord, towards all the subjects of the crown of Great Britain, and not offer the least hurt, violence or molestation to them or any of them in their persons or estates, but will henceforward hold and maintain a firm and constant amity and friendship with all the English, and will never confederate or combine with any other nation to their prejudice.

That all the captives taken in this present war shall, at or

before the time of the further ratification of this treaty, be restored, without any ransom or payment to be made for them or any of them.

That his Majesty's subjects the English, shall and may peaceably and quietly, enter upon, improve and forever enjoy all and singular their rights of land and former settlements, properties and possessions, within the eastern parts of the said province of the Massachusetts Bay; together with all islands, inlets, shores, beaches and fishery within the same, without any molestation or claims by us or any other Indians, and be in no ways molested, interrupted, or disturbed therein.

Saving unto the Penobscot, Norridgwock, and other tribes within his Majesty's province aforesaid, and their natural descendants respectively, all their lands, liberties and properties not by them conveyed or sold to or possessed by any of the English subjects as aforesaid; as also the privilege of fishing, hunting and fowling, as formerly.

That all trade and commerce which may hereafter be allowed betwixt the English and the Indians, shall be under such management and regulation, as the government of the Massachusetts province shall direct.

If any controversy or difference at any time hereafter happen to arise between any of the English and Indians, for any real or supposed wrong or injury done on either side, no private revenge shall be taken for the same, but proper application shall be made to his Majesty's government, upon the place for remedy or redress thereof, in a due course of justice. We submitting ourselves to be ruled and governed by his Majesty's laws, and desiring to have the benefit of the same.

We also, the said delegates, in behalf of the tribes of Indians inhabiting within the French territories, (who have assisted us in this war) for whom we are fully empowered to act in this

present treaty, do hereby promise and engage, that they and every of them shall henceforth cease and forbear all acts of hostility, force and violence, towards all and every, the subjects of his Majesty, the King of Great Britain.

We do further in the behalf of the Penobscot Indians promise and engage, that if any of the other tribes intended to be included in this treaty, shall notwithstanding, refuse to confirm and ratify this present treaty entered into on their behalf, and continue or renew acts of hostility against the English, in such case, the said Penobscot tribe, shall join their young men with the English in reducing them to reason.

In the next place, we the afore-named delegates do promise and engage with the Honorable John Wentworth, Esq., as he is Lieut. Governor and commander in chief of his Majesty's province of New-Hampshire, and with the governors and commanders in chief of the said province for the time being, that we and the tribes we are deputed from, will henceforth cease and forbear all acts of hostility, injuries and discords, towards all the subjects of his Majesty King George, within the said province; and we do understand and take it, that the said government of New-Hampshire, is also included and comprehended in all and every of the articles aforegoing, excepting that article respecting the regulating the trade with us.

And further, we the aforenamed delegates do promise and engage with the Hon. Lawrence Armstrong, Esq., Lieut. governor and commander in chief of his Majesty's province of Nova-Scotia or Accadia, to live in peace with his Majesty's good subjects and their dependents in that government, according to the articles agreed on with Major Paul Mascarene, commissioned for that purpose; and further to be ratified as mentioned in the said articles.

That this present treaty shall be accepted, ratified and con-

firmed, in a public and solemn manner, by the chiefs of the several eastern tribes of Indians included therein at Falmouth in Casco Bay, some time in the month of May next. In testimony whereof, we have signed these presents, and affixed our seals.

Dated at the Council Chamber in Boston in New England, this fifteenth day of December, Anno Domini, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-five. Anno Regni Regis Georgii Magnæ Brittannæ, &c., Duodecimo.

Sauguaaram alias *Loron.*

Arexus

Francois *Xavier.*

Meganumba

A true copy taken from the original, executed by the Indian delegates before the General assembly, December 15, 1725.

Attest, *J. Willard*, Secr.

Thus we have seen the events of twenty-three years, in most of which we have heard nothing but the "sound of the trumpet, and the alarm of war." And in the time of the intervening peace, we met with many interruptions and acts of hostility, which prevented the growth of our eastern settlements.

*

It is surprizing to think that so small a number of Indians should be able to distress a country so large and populous, to the degree we have related. The charge of the war in the last three years, was no less than one hundred and seventy thousand pounds; besides the constant charge of watching, warding, scouting, making and repairing of garrisons, &c., which may modestly be computed at upwards of seventy thousand pounds more. Yet after all, the enemy have but little cause of triumph; for that one third of them (at least) have been destroyed, and one of their tribes so shattered (at Norridgwock) that they are never more likely to make any formidable head.

Now, as peace seems once more to be concluded by the treaty before mentioned, the greatest difficulty will be to support and maintain it. If trading houses, which are now resolved on, (by the wisdom of the government) be well regulated, it may (under God) be a means of our tranquility; especially if the government can also prevail with them to receive the ministry for their instruction in the principles of the true religion.

But although it was agreed on with the several delegates that the treaty should be ratified and confirmed in a public and solemn manner by the chiefs of the several tribes of the eastern Indians at Falmouth in Casco Bay, some time in the month of May; yet when that time came they were not ready for it, but seemed for some time uncertain and dilatory. Nevertheless the government from time to time received advices of their continued desires of peace; and resolving that the failure should not be on our part, his honor, the Lieutenant Governor, with a quorum of his Majesty's council, and a number of gentlemen from the house of representatives, attended with a good guard, and a fine train of young gentlemen, set out from Boston, on July 14, and arrived at Falmouth the 16th.

On the 21st, his Honor received a letter from Wenemovet,

Sagamore and chief Sachem of the Penobscot tribe, dated at St. George's July 19th, praying him to meet the Indians at Pemaquid; which his honour absolutely refused, requiring him to come to Casco, and promising him safe conduct.

On the 29th, Wenemovet arrived, with a number of his principal men and others, about forty, and on the thirtieth the conference for the ratification of the late Treaty was entered on; and on the sixth of August it was concluded.

The Penobscot tribe only appeared, but in behalf of all the other tribes. The Canada tribes had been sent to by them, and had sent a letter (as they said) with two wampum belts; the one for their brethren of Penobscot, in token I suppose of their being concluded by them in the present treaty, the other to be presented to our Governor upon the ratification of the treaty; which was accordingly presented.

The Lieut. Governor demanded of them, why the Norridgwocks were not there? Wenemovet answered, that they had full power to act for them and for the Wowenocks and the Arreguntenocks, and the St. Francois.

The governments had many and large conferences with the Indians; worthy to be communicated to the publick, and which would be an entertainment to the curious. In these conferences the discretion and prudence of the salvages was observable as well as the wisdom, justice, equity and tenderness of the governors on our part.

One of the first things that the Indians desired of our governors was, that they would give order that the vessels in the harbor as well as the taverns ashore might be restrained from selling any liquors to their young men. The governor told them, that he very much approved of that, and would give order accordingly.

On Saturday July 30th, when the conference for the day was

over, the Lieut. Governor told them, "to-morrow is the Lord's-Day, on which we do no business." Loron, their speaker, answered readily, "to-morrow is our Sabbath Day; we also keep the Day."

It may be a pleasure to the reader to have the words of the ratification of the treaty, both on our part and also on the part of the Indians.

On the Indian's part, it ran in the following words.

We the underwritten Wenemovet, chief Sachem and Sagamore of the Penobscot tribe, and other the chiefs with the rest of the said tribe now convented, having had the within articles of Peace distinctly and deliberately read over and interpreted to us: do by these presents in a publick and solemn manner, as well for ourselves as for all the within mentioned tribes, from whom we are delegated and fully impowered, ratify, affirm and confirm all and singular the within articles of Peace, to His most Sacred Majesty King George; and that the same and each of them be, and shall continue and remain in full force, efficacy and power, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

Done and concluded at Falmouth in Casco Bay before his Honour William Dummer, Esq. Lieut. governor and commander in chief of his Majesty's province of the Massachusetts Bay in New-England, and his Majesty's council of said province the Hon. John Wentworth Esq. Lieut. governor of his Majesty's province of New-Hampshire, and several of his Majesty's council of said province, and Major Paul Mascarene, delegated from his Majesty's province of Nova-Scotia, or L'Accadia; and the several gentlemen that subscribe hereto.

Witness our hands and seals, the fifth day of August, in the thirteenth year of the reign of our sovereign lord George, by the grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, defender of the faith, &c. annoq. dom. 1726.

On our part, the ratification of the treaty ran thus. By the Honourable William Dummer, Esq. Lieut. governor and commander in chief of his Majesty's province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England.

Whereas Wenemovet, the chief sachem of Penobscot, with others his chiefs and the rest of said tribe, convented at Casco bay the 5th day of August, 1726, having solemnly and publickly ratified the treaty of submission, made at Boston the 15th day of December last, and delivered the same to me, which I have according accepted.

I do hereby ratify and confirm all the articles in the within mentioned instrument.

Given under my hand and seal at arms, at Falmouth, in Casco bay, the sixth day of August, in the thirteenth year of the reign of our sovereign lord King George, by the grace of God of Great Britain, &c. annoq. dom. 1726.

WILLIAM DUMMER.

By the command of his honour
the Lieut. governor,
John Wainwright,
Clerk of the Council.

After the ratification was over, the Lieut. governor among other things, desired them to say, what measures they propos'd to take, whereby the inhabitants on our frontiers may be made easy and safe, notwithstanding the Norridgwocks, &c. who did not personally appear to ratify the articles of the present treaty?

They answered, that they would have the inhabitants of the frontiers to be very careful, and that as soon as they return'd home it should be their first care to send to all the tribes, and let them know that there is a peace made.

The Lieut. governor ask'd them, will you lay your commands

and injunctions on the other tribes for that purpose, as far as you are able? Loron answered, we will do our utmost to oblige 'em to live peaceably towards us.

The Lieut. governor replied, do you say you will resent it, if any hostile acts or injuries should be committed against our people?

Loron. We will resent such actions, and join our young men with yours in such a case, and oblige them to be quiet and sit down. We mean, in case any of the tribes should rise against us, or resist us, we will take effectual means to set them down by force. As to the first treaty we reckoned ourselves obliged to this, but we account we are under much more and stronger obligations to it now; since the engagements our whole tribe have taken upon them, in ratifying the articles of the treaty. We shall take effectual care therefore that any such persons be obliged to sit down.

We have given onr words, and repeated our promises and engagements; and our words are written down, and they will appear afterwards against us.

When the whole conference was transcribed, it was on August 11, (may the day be memorable and happy to us and ours after us) distinctly read over and interpreted to Wenemovet and the Indians with him: and the Lieut. governor asked them if they understood it, and whether it was rightly taken down? They answered, that the conference was rightly taken down, and not a word missing in it.

His honour then for their more full satisfaction subscribed his name to it, and then delivered it to Wenemovet, chief sachem, who with his principal men subscribed to it, and delivered it back to his honour.

And thus we hope by the will of God, that a happy foundation is laid for a lasting peace. And we cannot conclude with-

out a thankful acknowledgment of the great favour and mercy of God to us, in the wise conduct given unto his honour the Lieut. governor, both in the management of the war, and also of the treaty of peace. May the comforts and rewards of a faithful administration remain to him for ever; and the happy fruits of peace unto these provinces. FINIS.

Lovewell's Fight.

(Taken from Farmer & Moore's Col., Vol. III, pp. 64, 65, 66.)

[The following Song was written about one hundred years since, to commemorate one of the most fierce and obstinate battles which had been fought with the Indians. For many years, it was sung throughout a considerable portion of New-Hampshire and Massachusetts, and probably served more than any thing else to keep in remembrance the circumstances of this desperate engagement. In the first volume of these Collections, we gave some account of Capt. Lovewell, with the whole of Rev. Mr. Symmes' memoirs of the fight. Through the kindness of a friend, to whom we are also indebted for a copy of the song, we are favored with some notices of Capt. Lovewell's family. He was son of Zaccheus Lovewell, and ensign in the army of Oliver Cromwell, who came to this country and settled at Dunstable, where he died at the great age of 120 years, the oldest white man who ever died in the state of New-Hampshire. He left three sons, who were all men of distinction, viz. Zaccheus, a Colonel in the French war in 1759, mentioned by Dr. Belknap, (Hist. N. H. Vol. II. page 302*) Jonathan, a preacher, representative and judge; and John, the hero of Pequawkett. Captain Lovewell had two sons, John and Nehemiah, and one daughter; John, the eldest son, died in Dunstable. Nehemiah attained to the rank of Colonel; removed to Corinth, in Vermont, where he died. The daughter married Captain Joseph Baker, from Roxbury, who lived in Lovewell's-Town, now Pembroke, which was granted to Lovewell's company in 1728.—EDITS.]

SONG.

1. Of worthy Captain LOVEWELL, I purpose now to sing,
   How valiently he served his country and his King;
   He and his valient soldiers, did range the woods full wide,
   And hardships they endured to quell the Indian's pride.

[* It is a mistake in Dr. Belknap that Colonel Lovewell was a son "of the famous partisan who lost his life at Pigwackett." He was a brother to him.]

2. 'Twas nigh unto Pigwacket, on the eighth day of May,
They spied a rebel Indian soon after break of day;
He on a bank was walking, upon a neck of land,
Which leads into a pond as we're made to understand.

3. Our men resolved to have him, and travell'd two miles round,
Until they met the Indian, who boldly stood his ground;
Then speaks up Captain Lovewell, "take you good heed, says he,
"This rogue is to decoy us, I very plainly see.

4. "The Indians lie in ambush, in some place nigh at hand,
"In order to surround us upon this neck of land;
"Therefore we'll march in order, and each man leave his pack,
"That we may briskly fight them when they make their attack."

5. They came unto this Indian, who did them thus defy,
As soon as they came nigh him, two guns he did let fly,
Which wounded Captain Lovewell, and likewise one man more,
But when this rogue was running, they laid him in his gore.

6. Then having scalped the Indian, they went back to the spot,
Where they had laid their packs down, but there they found them not,
For the Indians having spied them, when they them down did lay,
Did seize them for their plunder, and carry them away.

7. These rebels lay in ambush, this very place hard by.
So that an English soldier did one of them espy,
And cried out, "here's an Indian," with that they started out,
As fiercely as old lions, and hideously did shout.

8. With that our valient English, all gave a loud huzza,
To shew the rebel Indians they feared them not a straw:
So now the fight began, and as fiercely as could be,
The Indians ran up to them, but soon were forced to flee.

9. Then spake up Captain Lovewell, when first the fight began
"Fight on my valient heroes! you see they fall like rain."
For as we are inform'd, the Indians were so thick,
A man could scarcely fire a gun and not some of them hit.

10. Then did the rebels try their best our soldiers to surround,
But they could not accomplish it, because there was a pond,
To which our men retreated and covered all the rear,
The rogues were fore'd to flee them, although they skulked for fear.

11. Two logs there were behind them that close together lay,
Without being discovered, they could not get away;
Therefore our valient English, they travell'd in a row,
And at a handsome distance as they were wont to go.

12. 'Twas ten o'clock in the morning, when first the fight begun,
And fiercely did continue until the setting sun;
Excepting that the Indians some hours before 'twas night,
Drew off into the bushes and ceas'd a while to fight,

13. But soon again returned, in fierce and furious mood,
Shouting as in the morning, but yet not half so loud;
For as we are informed, so thick and fast they fell,
Scarce twenty of their number, at night did get home well.

14. And that our valient English, till midnight there did stay,
To see whether the rebels would have another fray;
But they no more returning, they made off toward their home,
And brought away their wounded as far as they could come.

15. Of all our valient English, there were but thirty-four,
And of the rebel Indians, there were about fourscore.
And sixteen of our English did safely home return,
The rest were kill'd and wounded, for which we all must mourn.

16. Our worthy Captain LOVEWELL, among them there did die,
They killed Lieut. ROBBINS, and wounded good young FRYE,
Who was our English Chaplain; he many Indians slew,
And some of them he scalp'd when bullets round him flew.

17. Young FULLAM too I'll mention, because he fought so well,
Endeavouring to save a man, a sacrifice he fell;
But yet our valient Englishmen in fight were ne'er dismayed,
But still they kept their motion, and WYMAN's Captain made,

18. Who shot the old chief PAUGUS, which did the foe defeat,
Then set his men in order, and brought off the retreat;
And braving many dangers and hardships in the way,
They safe arriv'd at Dunstable, the thirteenth day of May.

NOTES.

VERSE 16.

"*They killed lieut.* ROBBINS."

Lieut. Robbins was a native of Chelmsford. He desired his companions to charge his gun and leave it with him, which they did; he saying, that, "As the Indians will come in the morning to scalp me, I will kill one of them, if I can."

VERSE 16.

"*And wounded good young* FRYE,
"*Who was our English Chaplain; he many Indians slew.*"

Jonathan Frye, the chaplain of the company, was the only son of Capt. James Frye, of Andover, and graduated at Harvard college in 1723. He was greatly beloved by the company. He fought with undaunted bravery, until he was mortally wounded. When he could fight no longer, he was heard to pray audibly several times for the preservation and success of the surviving part of his companions. He had the journal of the march with him, which by his death was lost.

VERSE 17.

"*Young* FULLAM, *too, I'll mention, because he fought so well.*"

Jacob Fullam was the sergeant to the company. He was the only son of Major Fullam, of Weston. He was killed at the commencement of the engagement.

VERSE 18.

"WYMAN'S *captain made.*"

Ensign Seth Wyman belonged to Woburn. He distinguished himself in such a signal manner, that after his return, he was presented with a silver hilted sword, and captain's commission. He died within a short time after, very much lamented.

VERSE 18.

"*The thirteenth day of May.*"

Rev. Mr. Symmes in his memoirs, says they arrived at Dunstable on the 15th day of May.

Lovewell's Fight.*

A BALLAD.

(*Taken from Farmer & Moore's Col., Vol. III, pp.* 94. 95, 96, 97.)

WHAT time the noble LOVEWELL came,
With fifty men from Dunstable,
The cruel Pequa'tt tribe to tame,
With arms and bloodshed terrible.

[* "The story of Lovewell's Fight is one of the nursery tales of New-Hampshire; there is hardly a person that lives in the eastern and northern part of the state but has heard incidents of that fearful encounter repeated from infancy. It was on the 18th of April, 1725, that Capt. John Lovewell, of Dunstable, Massachusetts, with thirty-four men, fought a famous Indian chief, named Paugus, at the head of about eighty savages, near the shores of a pond in Pequackett. Lovewell's men were determined to conquer or die, although outnumbered by the Indians more than one half. They fought till Lovewell and Paugus were killed, and all Lovewell's men but nine were either killed or wounded dangerously. The savages having lost, as was supposed, sixty of their number out of eighty, and being convinced of the fierce and determined resolution of their foes, at length retreated and left them masters of the ground. The scene of this desperate and bloody action which took place in the town which is now called Fryeburg, is often visited with interest to this day, and the names of those who fell, and those who survived, are yet repeated with emotions of grateful exultation."—*North American Review.*

Names of Lovewell's Company who fought the Indians at Pequawket, viz:

Captain JOHN LOVEWELL, *Lieutenant* JOSEPH FARWELL, *Lieutenant* JONATHAN ROBINS, *Ensign* JOHN HARWOOD, *Sergeant* NOAH JOHNSON,* ROBERT USHER, and SAMUEL WHITING, *of Dunstable; Ensign* SETH WYMAN, *Corporal* THOMAS RICHARDSON, TIMOTHY RICHARDSON, ICHABOD JOHNSON, and JOSIAH JOHNSON, *of Woburn;* ELEAZER DAVIS, JOSIAH DAVIS, JOSIAH JONES, DAVID MELVIN, ELEAZER MELVIN, JACOB FARRAR, and JOSEPH FARRAR, *of Concord; Chaplain* JONATHAN FRYE, son of Captain James Frye, *of Andover*; *Sergeant* JACOB FULHAM, *of Weston; Corporal* EDWARD LINGFIELD, *of Nutfield;* JONATHAN KITREDGE and SOLOMON KEYS, *of Bilerica;* JOHN JEFTS, DANIEL WOODS, THOMAS WOODS, JOHN CHAMBERLAIN, ELIAS BARNES, ISAAC LARKIN, and JOSEPH GILSON, *of Groton;* EBENEZER AYER and ABIEL ASTON, *of Haverhill; and one coward,* not named.

[* Noah Johnson was Ensign in Rogers' company of rangers, in the French and Indian War of 1756. He belonged to Dunstable; and at the age of 80, went up to Fryeburg to shew the first settlers the scene of Lovewell's battle with the Indians.]

Then did the crimson streams, that flowed,
Seem like the waters of the brook,
That brightly shine, that loudly dash
Far down the cliffs of Agiochook.

With Lovewell brave, John Harwood came;
From wife and babes 'twas hard to part,
Young Harwood took her by the hand,
And bound the weeper to his heart.

Repress that tear, my Mary, dear,
Said Harwood to his loving wife,
It tries me hard to leave thee here,
And seek in distant woods the strife.

When gone, my Mary, think of me,
And pray to God, that I may be,
Such as one ought that lives for thee,
And come at last in victory.

Thus left young Harwood babe and wife,
With accent wild, she bade adieu;
It grieved those lovers much to part,
So fond and fair, so kind and true.

Seth Wyman, who in Woburn lived,
(A marksman he of courage true,)
Shot the first Indian, whom they saw,
Sheer through his heart the bullet flew.

The Savage had been seeking game,
Two guns and eke a knife he bore,
And two black ducks were in his hand,
He shrieked, and fell, to rise no more.

Anon, there eighty Indians rose,
Who'd hid themselves in ambush dread;
Their knives they shook, their guns they aimed,
The famous Paugus at their head.

Good heavens! they dance the Powow dance,
What horrid yells the forests fill?
The grim bear crouches in his den,
The eagle seeks the distant hill.

What means this dance, this Powow dance?
Stern Wyman said; with wondrous art,
He crept full near, his rifle aimed,
And shot the leader through the heart.

John Lovewell, Captain of the band,
His sword he waved, that glittered bright,
For the last time he cheered his men,
And led them onward to the fight.

Fight on, fight on, brave Lovewell said,
Fight on, while heaven shall give you breath!
An Indian ball then pierced him through,
And Lovewell closed his eyes in death,

John Harwood died all bathed in blood,
When he had fought till set of day;
And many more we may not name,
Fell in that bloody battle fray.

When news did come to Harwood's wife,
That he with Lovewell fought and died,
Far in the wilds had given his life,
Nor more would in their home abide;

Such grief did seize upon her mind,
Such sorrow filled her faithful breast;
On earth she ne'er found peace again,
But followed Harwood to his rest.

'Twas Paugus led the Pequa'tt tribe;—
As runs the Fox, would Paugus run;
As howls the wild wolf, would he howl,
A large bear skin had Paugus on.

But Chamberlain, of Dunstable,
(One whom a savage ne'er shall slay,)
Met Paugus by the water side,
And shot him dead upon that day.

Good heavens! is this a time for prayer?
Is this a time to worship God?
When Lovewell's men are dying fast,
And Paugus' tribe hath felt the rod?

The Chaplain's name was Jonathan Frye;
In Andover his father dwelt,
And oft with Lovewell's men he'd prayed,
Before the mortal wound he felt.

A man was he of comely form,
Polished and brave, well learnt and kind;
Old Harvard's learned halls he left,
Far in the wilds a grave to find.

Ah! now his blood red arm he lifts,
His closing lids he tries to raise;
And speak once more before he dies,
In supplication and in praise.

He prays kind heaven to grant success,
Brave Lovewell's men to guide and bless.
And when they've shed their heart blood true,
To raise them all to happiness.

Come hither. Farwell, said young Frye,
You see that I'm about to die;
Now for the love I bear to you,
When cold in death my bones shall lie;

Go thou and see my parents dear,
And tell them you stood by me here;
Console them when they cry, Alas!
And wipe away the falling tear.

Lieutenant Farwell took his hand,
His arm around his neck he threw,
And said, brave Chaplain, I could wish,
That heaven had made me die for you.

The Chaplain on kind Farwell's breast,
Bloody and languishing he fell;
Nor after this said more, but *this*,
"I love thee, soldier, fare thee well."

Ah! many a wife shall rend her hair,
And many a child cry, "Woe is me!"
When messengers the news shall bear,
Of Lovewell's dear bought victory.

With footsteps slow shall travellers go,
Where Lovewell's pond shines clear and bright,
And mark the place, where those are laid,
Who fell in Lovewell's bloody fight.

Old men shall shake their heads, and say,
Sad was the hour and terrible,
When Lovewell brave 'gainst Paugus went,
With fifty men from Dunstable.

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*The following Lines were written by Mr. Thomas C. Upham, "a N. Hampshire poet, on the occasion of a visit to the place of Lovewell's Fight.**

Ah! where are the soldiers that fought here of yore?
The sod is upon them, they'll struggle no more.
The hatchet is fallen, the red man is low;
But near him reposes the arm of his foe.

The bugle is silent, the war whoop is dead;
There's a murmur of waters and woods in their stead
And the raven and owl chant a symphony drear,
From the dark waving pines o'er the combatant's bier.

The light of the sun has just sunk in the wave,
And a long time ago sat the sun of the brave.
The waters complain, as they roll o'er the stones,
And the rank grass encircles a few scatter'd bones.

The names of the fallen the traveller leaves
Cut out with his knife in the bark of the trees,
But little avail his affectionate arts,
For the names of the fallen are graved in our hearts.

The voice of the hunter is loud on the breeze,
There's a dashing of waters, a rustling of trees;
But the jangling of armour hath all pass'd away,
No gushing of lifeblood is here seen to day.

The eye that was sparkling, no longer is bright,
The arm of the mighty, death conquered its might,
The bosoms that once for their country beat high,
To those bosoms the sods of the valley are nigh.

Sleep, soldiers of merit, sleep, gallants of yore,
The hatchet is fallen, the struggle is o'er.
While the fir tree is green and the wind rolls a wave,
The tear drop shall brighten the turf of the brave.

* Taken from Farmer and Moore's Col. I, 35.

Curious Letter to Rev. Cotton Mather.

PORTSMOUTH, Feb. 27, 1698–9.

"Monsieur Vincelotte, of Quebeck, arrived here the 25th of the last month, and since embarked for France by way of Bilboa, as agent to represent the affairs of Canada.

"He says that, about nine or ten years since, the earl of Frontenac, governor of that place, who died last November, did personally attempt to subdue the Maqua's, &c., having no less than fifteen hundred soldiers in his army.

"After a few days' march, they (being much wearied, and very thirsty) came unto a certain small *well*, of which they drank very plentifully. But in a few hours after, sundry complained of much *illness*, and according to their *various constitutions*, fell sick (as it seemed) of *different distempers;* which occasioned so great disorder and confusion in the army, that no less than *four* well men, for a while, were engaged in taking care of every *one* that was sick. About three days after, the Maqua scout narrowly observing the motions of the French, rallied together as many as possible, to give a check unto their undertakings; which they soon accomplished with very considerable advantage. But the French appearing so numerous, forced them to retreat, and in pursuit of them, took and ransackt a small town.

"The sickness by this time increased unto so great an height, as to occasion a 'council of war,' which ordered their speedy return; and in a short time, no less than eight hundred persons died out of the army.

"Now, about three years ago a certain soldier, who belonged at that time to the army went into France. In a short time after his arrival, he robbed one of the churches of a considerable value of plate; but being soon discovered, he was sentenced to be burnt. He then sent unto sundry *father confessors*, unto whom he acknowledged his many sins; particularly the fact for

which he was condemned. But he therewithal said, that he had *something else* of more considerable moment to impart, which did much afflict his conscience; namely, an action of his about seven years before committed, when listed under the conduct of the Earl of Frontenac, in an enterprize against the Sennakers and Maqua's; for, (said he) 'I was the only person at that time instumental to the death of near eight hundred souls. Having received some affront from some of the officers, I was prompted to seek some speedy revenge, which my own corrupt nature, with the instigation of Satan, did instantly accomplish; for being plentifully stored with some rank poison upon another account, I threw it all into a well, of which the thirsty army drank freely, and in the event it proved so fatal unto them.'

"For the further confirmation of this report, Monsieur Vincelotte at the same time told me, that he was himself wounded in the engagement, and should continue lame to his dying day. "Reverend Sir, your most humble servant,

"S. Pennallow."

The following list of names of the various Indian nations in North America, in 1794, with the number of their fighting men, was obtained by a gentleman (Mr. Benjamin Hawkins) employed in a treaty then made with them;

The Choctaws or Flatheads, 4500—Natchez, 150—Chickasaws, 750—Cherokees, 2500—Catabas, 150—Piantas, a wandering tribe, 800—Kisquororas, 600—Hankashaws, 250—Oughtenons, 400—Kikapous, 500—Delawares, 300—Shawanese, 300—Miamies, 305—Upper Creeks, Middle Creeks, and Lower Creeks, 4000—Cowitas, 700—Alibamas, 600—Akinsaws, 200—Ansaus, 1000—Padomas, 500—white and freckled Pianis, 4000—Causes, 1600—Osages, 600—Grand Saux, 1000—Missouri, 3000—Saux of the Wood, 1800—Blances, or white Indians, with beard, 1500—Asinboils, 1500—Christian Cauzes, 3000—Ouiscousas, 500—Mascotins, 500—Lakes, 400—Muherouakes, 230—Folle Avoines, or Wild-Cats, 350—Puans, 700—Powatamig, 550—Missasagues, a wandering tribe, 2000—Otabas, 900—Chipewas, 5000—Wiandots, 300—Six Nations, 1500—Round Heads, 2500—Algoquins, 3000—Nepisians, 400—Chalsas, 130—Amitostes, 550—Muckniacks, 700—Abinaguis, 350—Consway Hurins, 200.—Total, 58,780.—*Trumbull's Indian Wars, pp.* 113, 114.

Appendix

Instructions from the Massachusetts to John Winthrop Esqr first Governour of Connecticut to treat with the Pequots.

[The following manuscript Letter and Commission directed to John Winthrop Jun. Esq., the first Governor of Connecticut, and signed by Sir Henry Vane, the Governor, and John Winthrop Esq., the Deputy Governor of Massachusetts, were found among the papers of the elder Gov. Trumbull of Connecticut in the year 1809, and were kindly furnished to the Publishing Committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society for publication in its Collections, by William T. Williams, Esq., of Lebanon, Con. The Society is also deeply indebted to Mr. Williams for several other manuscripts of interest published in this collection. These papers, it is understood, formerly belonged to the Connecticut branch of the Winthrop family.—*Pub. Committee.*]

"Whereas it so falls out by the good Prouidence of God, that the place of your present residence is neare adjoyning unto certaine of the Natiues who are called the Pequots, concerning whom we haue diuers things to enquire and satisfy ourselues in; our request to you therefore is, and by these presents we do giue you full power, authority, and commission to treate and conferre with the sayd Pequots, in our names according to the instructions to these annexed, as if wee ourselues were present: and to make report backe agayne unto vs of the issue and succesee of the whole before the next Generall Court (which, God willing is intended in the beginning of the 7th month). Thus recommending you, and your affayres to the blessing of Allmighty God, wee rest Your louing freinds

H Vane. Gov'
Jo: Winthrop Dep'

Massatuchetts the 4th day
Of the 5 month. 1636."

"Massatuchets Month: 5th. 4. 1636. The instructions which are recommended to John Winthrop Junr Esqr in his negotiation with the Pequots.

"1. To giue notice to the principall Sachem that you haue receaued a commission from vs to demaund a solemne meeting for conference with them in a friendly manner about matters of importance.

"2. In case they slight such message and refuse to giue you a meeting (at such place as yourself shall apoynt) then you are in our names to returne backe their present (which you shall receaue from vs) and to acquaint them with all, that we hold ourselues free from any peace or league with them as a people guilty of English blood.

"3. If they consent, and giue a meeting as afore sayd, that then you lay downe vnto them how unworthily they haue requited our friendship with them; for as much as that they haue broken the very condition of the peace betwixt vs, by the not rendring into our hands the murtherers of Capt. Stone, (which we desire you once agayne solemly to require of them), as also in that they so trifled with vs in their present which they made proffer of to vs, as that they did send but part of it, and put it off with this, as to say the old men did neuer consent to the giuing of it; which dealings sauour so much of dishonour and neglect, as that no people that desire friendship should put them in practice.

"4. To let them know first what credible relation hath beene given vs, that some of the cheif of them were actors in the murder of Mr. Hamond and the other vpon Long Iland; and since of another Englishman there: and of their late determination to haue seized vpon a Plymouth Barke lying in their harbour for trade; as by the more large descriptions of these things, which we also send vnto you, will more distinctly ap-

pear. Of all these things we desire you to take the relation from their owne mouths, and to inform vs particularly of their seuerall answers: giuing them to vnderstand that it is not the manner of the English to take reuenge of injury vntill the partys that are guilty haue beene called to answer fairely for themselves.

"5. To let them know that if they shall cleare themselues of these matters, we shall not refuse to hearken to any reasonable proposition from them for confirmation of the peace betwixt vs. But if they shall not giue you satifaction according to these our instructions, or shall bee found guilty of any of the sayd murthers, and will not deliuuer the actours in them into our hands, that then (as before you are directed) you returne them the present, and declare to them that we hold ourselues free from any league or peace with them, and shall reuenge the blood of our contrimen as occasion shall serue.

H: Vane Gov^r^
Jo: Winthrop Dep^t^"

LEIFT LION GARDENER HIS RELATION OF THE PEQUOT WARRES.

[The original manuscript of this "Relation" and a copy in the handwriting of Gov. Trumbull were furnished to the Publishing Committee by William T. Williams, Esq.; the same gentleman whose kindness is mentioned on page 129 of this volume. The Committee, on account of the difficulty the printer would find in deciphering the original, have followed the orthography of the copy, excepting in the proper names, where they thought it of more importance to adhere to the ancient orthography. Mr. Williams in his interesting letters of July 19 and 23, 1832, addressed to a member of the Committee, has given some few particulars in relation to Lion Gardener; also a description of the battle ground where the Pequots were destroyed, and of the burial place of Uncas and Miantunnomoh, together with a succinct account of the present condition of the remnant of the ancient and powerful tribes of the Pequots, Mohegans and Narragansetts. These portions of the letters are of historical value, and the Committee therefore take the liberty of publishing the following extracts.—*Publishing Committee.*]

"Lion Gardener was sent over by Lords Say and Seal and Lord Brook to construct a fort at the mouth of Connecticut river, to command it, &c. He was said to be a skilful engineer, and on that account was selected. He had seen some service in the Low Countries under Gen. Fairfax. He came into this Country about the year 1633 or 1634 and erected the fort at Saybrook in Connecticut, which was so named in honour of Lords Say and Seal and Lord Brook: but how long he continued to command the fort I do not recollect. He commanded it when Capt. John Mason conquered the Pequots, for Mason in his history, you recollect, says, 'he, Lt. Gardiner, complimented or entertained him with many big guns,' on his arrival at the fort after the conquest of the Pequots.

* * * * * *

"Gardener continued some time in the command of the fort, but it does not appear when he left it. While he commanded it, he once very narrowly escaped being captured by the Pequots. He had five men with him, one of whom was taken and tortured; the fort was burnt down, and he and his family narrowly escaped being burnt in it. Gardener's Island,* lying in Gardener's Bay, to which he removed and where he died, was taken possession by him soon after his coming into this country. You will see he has reference to *his* island: it is a very beautiful island of good land, perhaps twenty-five hundred or three thousand acres, with a long sand point of not much value. It now wholly belongs to the family and was until the decease of the last proprietor, Jonathan Gardiner, an entailed estate; but I am told that the entail is now broken. The proprietors have always been called *Lords.*

* * * * * *

[*There is a tradition that the Island was conveyed to Gardiner by Waiandance, in consequence of his (Gardiner's) exertions to ransom the chieftain's daughter, who had been made prisoner by Ninegrate, during a war between the Nahantics and the Long Island Indians.—*Stone's Life of Uncas, p.* 36.]

"In the mouth of Mistic river there is an island, now and always called Mason's Island from old Capt. Mason, containing five or six hundred acres. This island he took possession of by right of conquest, and the most of it is now possessed by his descendants. I believe it is the only spot in Connecticut claimed in that way.

* * * * * *

"Summer before last I went to the battle-ground on purpose to view it. The spot where the fort stood is in the present town of Groton, Connecticut, on the west side of Mistic river. Sassacus had this fort in the eastern part of his dominions to look after the Narragansetts. The hill is commanding and beautiful though not steep. The land is now owned by Roswell Fish, Esq. of Groton. There are no remains of the fort; Capt. Mason says it was of timber mostly, and of course when he burnt it, it must have been principally consumed. Mr. Fish told me that within his recollection (and he is about sixty) some few Indian arrow-heads and spears have been found on the ground, and also some bullets. The river is at the bottom of the hill, less than half a mile, I should think, from the site of the fort, and perhaps three miles from the head of the little village of Mistic in the town of Stonington, where the small streams that form the river meet the tide water. The river is the dividing line between the towns of Groton and Stonington. Porter's rocks, where Capt. Mason lodged, are near the village, and perhaps two miles above the site of the fort.

"Sassacus had another fort, about two miles west of the one taken by Mason, in the town of Groton, from which the one taken was recruited on the night before the attack. The whole of the shore of Mistic river, which is about six or seven miles from what is called head of Mistic, to its mouth, and particularly the west side, is rough, rugged, and rocky, but particularly pleas-

*

ant, and filled with dwellings wherever they can be placed, inhabited chiefly by sailors and seamen. There is a pretty meeting-house among the rocks. * * *

"There is a remnant of the Pequots still existing. They live in the town of Groton, and amount to about forty souls, in all, or perhaps a few more or less; but do not vary much from that amount. They have about eleven hundred acres of poor land reserved to them in Groton, on which they live. They are more mixed than the Mohegans with negro and white blood, yet are a distinct tribe and still retain a hatred to the Mohegans. A short time since, I had an opportunity of seeing most of the tribe together. They are more vicious, and not so decent or so good-looking a people as the Mohegans. This however may be owing to their being more mixed with other blood. It is very rare that there are any intermarriages with either of the tribes to each other, they still, so far as circumstances admit, retaining the old grudge. The most common name among them is Meazen; nearly half call themselves by that surname.

"The Indians formerly called Ninegrate's men, seem to be now called Nararganssetts, and live principally in Charlestown, Rhode Island. There are perhaps eighty, or more; though I am not so well informed concerning them, as of the Pequots or Mohegans.

"Considerable exertion is making now in favor of the Mohegans. A small, but neat church, has lately been erected by charity for them, and the United States have appropriated nine hundred dollars to build a school-master's house, and for his salary. The house for the school-master is erected and a school-master hired, who also preaches to the tribe. All of the tribe are anxiously sought out, and the benevolent are trying to bring them all together to their ancient seat. There are about seventy men on their land, or perhaps a few more. They

own about three thousand acres of good land in Montville, about three miles below Norwich landing. The Trading Cove brook is their northern bound; their eastern is the Thames river. The General Assembly of this State, immediately after the Pequot war was finished, declared, and I think unfortunately, that the name of the Pequots should become extinct; that the river that used to be called Pequot should be called Thames; and the place called Pequot should no longer be so called, but its name be changed to New London, in "remembrance," as the records declare, and as the Assembly say, "of the chief city in our dear native country."

"I have visited the ground where the rival chiefs, Uncas and Miantunnomoh, are buried. Uncas is buried in the royal burying ground, so called, which was appropriated to the Uncas family. It is just by the falls in the Yantic river in Norwich city; a beautiful and romantic spot. Calvin Goddard, Esq., of Norwich, owns the ground, and has (honorably) railed it in, and keeps it appropriated to its use. I saw him a few days since; he intends to enlarge it, and I hope to have an appropriate stone to mark the place. Miantunnomoh is buried in the east part of Norwich, at a place called Sachem's Plain, from the event of his death; and is buried on the spot where he was slain. But a few years since a large heap of stones, thrown together by the wandering Indians, according to the custom of their country, and as a melancholy mark of the love the Narragansetts had for their fallen chief, lay on his grave: but the despicable cupidity of some people in that vicinity has removed them to make a common stone wall, as it saved them the trouble of gathering stones for that purpose. The spot of his sepulture is, however, yet known.

[The original manuscript consists of 12 pages folio.—*Pub. Committee.*]

"*East Hampton, June*, 12, 1660.

"Loving Friends, Robert Chapman and Thomas Hurlburt, my love remembered to you both, these are to inform, that as you desired me when I was with you and Major Mason at Seabrooke two years and an half ago to consider and call to mind the passages of God's Providence at Seabrooke in and about the time of the Pequit [Pequot] War, wherein I have now endeavoured to answer your Desires and having rumaged and found some old papers then written it was a great help to my memory. You know that when I came to you I was an engineer or architect, whereof carpentry is a little part, but you know I could never use all the tools, for although for my necessity, I was forced sometimes to use my shifting chissel, and my holdfast, yet you know I could never endure nor abide the smoothing plane; I have sent you a piece of timber scored and forehewed unfit to join to any handsome piece of work, but seeing I have done the hardest work, you must get somebody to chip it and to smooth it lest the splinters should prick some men's fingers, for the truth must not be spoken at all times, though to my knowledge I have written nothing but the truth, and you may take out or put in what you please, or if you will, throw it all into the fire; but I think you may let the Governor and Major Mason see it. I have also inserted some additions of things that were done since, that they may be considered together. And thus as I was when I was with you, so I remain still. Your loving friend,

LION GARDENER.

"In the year 1635, I, Lion Gardener, Engineer and Master of works of Fortification in the legers of the Prince of Orange, in the Low Countries, through the persuasion of Mr. John Davenport, Mr. Hugh Peters with some other well-affected

Englishmen of Rotterdam, I made an agreement with the forenamed Mr. Peters for £100 per annum, for four years, to serve the company of patentees, namely, the Lord Say, the Lord Brooks [Brook,] Sir Arthur Hazilrig, Sir Mathew Bonnington [Bonighton?], Sir Richard Saltingstone [Saltonstall], Esquire Fenwick, and the rest of their company, [I say] I was to serve them only in the drawing, ordering and making of a city, towns or forts of defence. And so I came from Holland to London, and from thence to New-England. where I was appointed to attend such orders as Mr. John Winthrop, Esquire, the present Governor of Conectecott, was to appoint, whether at Pequit [Pequot] river, or Conectecott, and that we should choose a place both for the convenience of a good harbour, and also for capableness and fitness for fortification. But I landing at Boston the latter end of November, the aforesaid Mr. Winthrop had sent before one Lieut. Gibbons, Sergeant Willard, with some carpenters, to take possession of the River's mouth, where they began to build houses against the Spring; we expecting, according to promise, that there would have come from England to us 300 able men, whereof 200 should attend fortification, 50 to till the ground, and 50 to build houses. But our great expectation at the River's mouth, came only to two men, viz. Mr. Fenwick, and his man, who came with Mr. Hugh Peters, and Mr. Oldham and Thomas Stanton, bringing with them some Otter-skin coats, and Beaver, and skeins of wampum, which the Pequits [Pequots] had sent for a present, because the English had required those Pequits [Pequots] that had killed a Virginean [Virginian], one Capt. Stone, with his Bark's crew, in Conectecott River, for they said they would have their lives and not their presents; then I answered, Seeing you will take Mr. Winthrop to the Bay to see his wife, newly brought to bed of her first child, and though you say he shall return, yet I know if you make war with these Pequits, he will not

come hither again, for I know you will keep yourselves safe, as you think, in the Bay, but myself, with these few, you will leave at the stake to be roasted, or for hunger to be starved, for Indian corn is now 12*s.* per bushel, and we have but three acres planted, and if they will now make war for a Virginian and expose us to the Indians, whose mercies are cruelties, they, I say, love the Virginians better than us: for, have they stayed these four or five years, and will they begin now, we being so few in the River, and have scarce holes to put our heads in? I pray ask the Magistrates in the Bay if they have forgot what I said to them when I returned from Salem? For Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Haines, Mr. Dudley, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Humfry, Mr. Belingam [Bellingham], Mr. Coddington, and Mr. Nowell;—these entreated me to go with Mr. Humfry and Mr. Peters to view the country, to see how fit it was for fortification. And I told them that Nature had done more than half the work already, and I thought no foreign potent enemy would do them any hurt, but one that was near. They asked me who that was, and I said it was Capt. Hunger that threatened them most, for, (said I,) War is like a three-footed Stool, want one foot and down comes all; and these three feet are men, victuals, and munition, therefore, seeing in peace you are like to be famished, what will or can be done if war? Therefore I think, said I, it will be best only to fight against Capt. Hunger, and let fortification alone awhile; and if need hereafter require it, I can come to do you any service: and they all liked my saying well. Entreat them to rest awhile, till we get more strength here about us, and that we hear where the seat of war will be, may approve of it, and provide for it, for I had but twenty-four in all, men, women, and boys and girls, and not food for them for two months, unless we saved our corn-field, which could not possibly be if they came to war, for it is two miles from our

home. Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Fenwick, and Mr. Peters promised me that they would do their utmost endeavour to persuade the Bay-men to desist from war a year or two, till we could be better provided for it; and then the Pequit Sachem was sent for, and the present returned, but full sore against my will. So they three returned to Boston, and two or three days after came an Indian from Pequit, whose name was Cocommithus, who had lived at Plimoth, and could speak good English; he desired that Mr. Steven [Stephen] Winthrop would go to Pequit with an £100 worth of trucking cloth and all other trading ware, for they knew that we had a great cargo of goods of Mr. Pincheon's, and Mr. Steven Winthrop had the disposing of it. And he said that if he would come he might put off all his goods, and the Pequit Sachem would give him two horses that had been there a great while. So I sent the Shallop, with Mr. Steven Winthrop, Sergeant Tille [Tilly], (whom we called afterward Sergeant Kettle, because he put the kettle on his head,) and Thomas Hurlbut and three men more, charging them that they should ride in the middle of the river, and not go ashore until they had done all their trade, and that Mr. Steven Winthrop should stand in the hold of the boat, having their guns by them, and swords by their sides, the other four to be, two in the fore cuddie, and two in aft, being armed in like manner, that so they out of the loop-holes might clear the boat, if they were by the Pequits assaulted; and that they should let but one canoe come aboard at once, with no more but four Indians in her, and when she had traded then another, and that they should lie no longer there than one day, and at night to go out of the river; and if they brought the two horses, to take them in a clear piece of land at the mouth of the River, two of them to go ashore to help the horses in, and the rest stand ready with their guns in their hands, if need were, to defend them from the Pequits,

for I durst not trust them. So they went and found but little trade, and they having forgotten what I charged them, Thomas Hurlbut and one more went ashore to boil the kettle, and Thomas Hurlbut stepping into the Sachem's wigwam, not far from the shore, enquiring for the horses, the Indians went out of the wigwam, and Wincumbone, his mother's sister, was then the great Pequit Sachem's wife, who made signs to him that he should be gone, for they would cut off his head; which, when he perceived, he drew his sword and ran to the others, and got aboard, and immediately came abundance of Indians to the water-side and called them to come ashore, but they immediately set sail and came home, and this caused me to keep watch and ward, for I saw they plotted our destruction. And suddenly after came Capt. Endecott, Capt. Turner, and Capt. Undrill [Underhill], with a company of soldiers, well fitted, to Seabrook, and made that place their rendezvous or seat of war, and that to my great grief, for, said I, you come hither to raise these wasps about my ears, and then you will take wing and flee away; but when I had seen their commission I wondered, and made many allegations against the manner of it, but go they did to Pequit, and as they came without acquainting any of us in the River with it, so they went against our will, for I knew that I should loose our corn-field; then I entreated them to hear what I would say to them, which was this: Sirs, Seeing you will go, I pray you, if you don't load your Barks with Pequits, load them with corn, for that is now gathered with them, and dry, ready to put into their barns, and both you and we have need of it, and I will send my shallop and hire this Dutchman's boat, there present, to go with you, and if you cannot attain your end of the Pequits, yet you may load your barks with corn, which will be welcome to Boston and to me: But they said they had no bags to load them with, then said I, here is three dozen of new bags,

you shall have thirty of them, and my shallop to carry them, and six of them my men shall use themselves, for I will with the Dutchmen send twelve men well provided; and I desired them to divide the men into three parts, viz. two parts to stand without the corn, and to defend the other one third part, that carried the corn to the water-side, till they have loaded what they can. And the men there in arms, when the rest are aboard, shall in order go aboard, the rest that are aboard shall with their arms clear the shore, if the Pequits do assault them in the rear, and then, when the General shall display his colours, all to set sail together. To this motion they all agreed, and I put the three dozen of bags aboard my shallop, and away they went, and demanded the Pequit Sachem to come into parley. But it was returned for answer, that he was from home, but within three hours he would come; and so from three to six, and thence to nine, there came none. But the Indians came without arms to our men, in great numbers, and they talked with my men, whom they knew; but in the end, at a word given, they all on a sudden ran away from onr men, as theystood in rank and file, and not an Indian more was to be seen: and all this while before, they carried all their stuff away, and thus was that great parley ended. Then they displayed their colours, and beat their drums, burnt some wigwams and some heaps of corn, and my men carried as much aboard as they could, but the army went aboard, leaving my men ashore, which ought to have marched aboard first. But they all set sail, and my men were pursued by the Indians, and they hurt some of the Indians, two of them came home wounded. The Bay-men killed not a man, save that one Kichomiquim [Cutshamequin], an Indian Sachem of of the Bay, killed a Pequit; and thus began the war between the Indians and us in these parts. So my men being come home, and having brought a pretty quantity of corn with them,

they informed me (both Dutch and English) of all passages. I was glad of the corn. After this I immediately took men and went to our corn-field, to gather our corn, appointing others to come about with the shallop and fetch it, and left five lusty men in the strong-house, with long guns, which house I had built for the defence of the corn. Now these men not regarding the charge I had given them, three of them went a mile from the house a fowling; and having loaded themselves with fowl they returned. But the Pequits let them pass first, till they had loaded themselves, but at their return they arose out of their ambush, and shot them all three; one of them escaped through the corn, shot through the leg, the other two they tormented. Then the next day I sent the shallop to fetch the five men, and the rest of the corn that was broken down, and they found but three, as is above said, and when they had gotten that they left the rest; and as soon as they had gone a little way from shore they saw the house on fire. Now so soon as the boat came home, and brought us this bad news, old Mr. Michell was very urgent with me to lend him the boat to fetch hay home from the Six-mile Island, but I told him they were too few men, for his four men could but carry the hay aboard, and one must stand in the boat to defend them, and they must have two more at the foot of the Rock, with their guns, to keep the Indians from running down upon them. And in the first place, before they carry any of the cocks of hay, to scour the meadow with their three dogs,—to march all abreast from the lower end up to the Rock, and if they found the meadow clear, then to load their hay; but this was also neglected, for they all went ashore and fell to carrying off their hay, and the Indians presently rose out of the long grass, and killed three, and took the brother of Mr. Michell, who is the minister of Cambridge, and roasted him alive; and so they served a shallop of his, coming down

the river in the Spring, having two men, one whereof they killed at Six-mile Island, the other came down drowned to us ashore at our doors, with an arrow shot into his eye through his head.

In the 22d of February, I went out with ten men, and three dogs, half a mile from the house, to burn the weeds, leaves and reeds, upon the neck of land, because we had felled twenty timber-trees, which we were to roll to the water-side to bring home, every man carrying a length of match with brimstone-matches with him to kindle the fire withal. But when we came to the small of the Neck, the weeds burning, I having before this set two sentinels on the small of the Neck, I called to the men that were burning the reeds to come away, but they would not until they had burnt up the rest of their matches. Presently there starts up four Indians out of the fiery reeds, but ran away, I calling to the rest of our men to come away out of the marsh. Then Robert Chapman and Thomas Hurlbut, being sentinels, called to me, saying there came a number of Indians out of the other side of the marsh. Then I went to stop them, that they should not get the wood-land; but Thomas Hurlbut cried out to me that some of the men did not follow me, for Thomas Rumble and Arthur Branch, threw down their two guns and ran away; then the Indians shot two of them that were in the reeds, and sought to get between us and home, but durst not come before us, but kept us in a half-moon, we retreating and exchanging many a shot, so that Thomas Hurlbut was shot almost through the thigh, John Spencer in the back, into his kidneys, myself into the thigh, two more were shot dead. But in our retreat I kept Hurlbut and Spencer still before us, we defending ourselves with our naked swords, or else they had taken us all alive, so that the two sore wounded men, by our slow retreat, got home with their guns, when our two sound men ran away and left their guns behind them. But when I

saw the cowards that left us, I resolved to let them draw lots which of them should be hanged, for the articles did hang up in the hall for them to read, and they knew they had been published long before. But at the intercession of old Mr. Michell, Mr. Higgisson [Higginson], and Mr. Pell, I did forbear. Within a few days after, when I had cured myself of my wound, I went out with eight men to get some fowl for our relief, and found the guns that were thrown away, and the body of one man shot through, the arrow going in at the right side, the head sticking fast, half through a rib on the left side, which I took out and cleansed it, and presumed to send to the Bay, because they had said that the arrows of the Indians were of no force.

Anthony Dike, master of a bark, having his bark at Rhode Island in the winter, was sent by Mr. Vane, then Governor. Anthony came to Rhode-Island by land, and from thence he came with his bark to me with a letter, wherein was desired that I should consider and prescribe the best way I could to quell these Pequits, which I also did, and with my letter sent the man's rib as a token. A few days after, came Thomas Stanton down the River, and staying for a wind, while he was there came a troop of Indians within musket shot, laying themselves and their arms down behind a little rising hill and two great trees; which I perceiving, called the carpenter whom I had shewed how to charge and level a gun, and that he should put two cartridges of musket bullets into two sakers guns that lay about; and we levelled them against the place, and I told him that he must look towards me, and when he saw me wave my hat above my head he should give fire to both the guns; then presently came three Indians, creeping out and calling to us to speak with us: and I was glad that Thomas Stanton was there, and I sent six men down by the Garden Pales to look that none should come under the hill behind us; and having

placed the rest in places convenient closely, Thomas and I with my sword, pistol and carbine, went ten or twelve poles without the gate to parley with them. And when the six men came to the Garden Pales, at the corner, they found a great number of Indians creeping behind the fort, or betwixt us and home, but they ran away. Now I had said to Thomas Stanton, Whatsoever they say to you, tell me first, for we will not answer them directly to anything, for I know not the mind of the rest of the English. So they came forth, calling us nearer to them, and we them nearer to us. But I would not let Thomas go any further than the great stump of a tree, and I stood by him; then they asked who we were, and he answered Thomas and Lieutenant. But they said he lied, for I was shot with many arrows; and so I was, but my buff coat preserved me, only one hurt me. But when I spake to them they knew my voice, for one of them had dwelt three months with us, but ran away when the Bay-men came first. Then they asked us if we would fight with Niantecut Indians, for they were our friends and came to trade with us. We said we knew not the Indians one from another, and therefore would trade with none. Then they said, Have you fought enough? We said we knew not yet. Then they asked if we did use to kill women and children? We said that they should see that hereafter. So they were silent a small space, and then they said, We are Pequits, and have killed Englishmen, and can kill them as mosquetoes, and we will go to Conectecott and kill men, women, and children, and we will take away the horses, cows and hogs. When Thomas Stanton had told me this, he prayed me to shoot that rogue, for, said he, he hath an Englishman's coat on, and saith that he hath killed three, and these other four have their cloathes on their backs. I said, No, it is not the manner of a parley, but have patience and I shall fit them ere they go. Nay, now or never, said he; so when he

could get no other answer but this last, I bid him tell them that they should not go to Conectecott, for if they did kill all the men, and take all the rest as they said, it would do them no good, but hurt, for English women are lazy, and can't do their work; horses and cows will spoil your corn-fields, and the hogs their clam-banks, and so undo them: then I pointed to our great house, and bid him tell them there lay twenty pieces of trucking cloth, of Mr. Pincheon's, with hoes, hatchets, and all manner of trade, they were better fight still with us, and so get all that, and then go up the river after they had killed all us. Having heard this, they were mad as dogs, and ran away; then when they came to the place from whence they came, I waved my hat about my head, and the two great guns went off, so that there was a great hubbub amongst them. Then two days after, came down Capt. Mason, and Sergeant Seely, with five men more, to see how it was with us; and whilst they were there, came down a Dutch boat, telling us the Indians had killed fourteen English, for by that boat I had sent up letters to Conectecott, what I heard, and what I thought, and how to prevent that threatened danger, and received back again rather a scoff, than any thanks, for my care and pains. But as I wrote, so it fell out to my great grief and theirs, for the next, or second day after, (as Major Mason well knows,) came down a great many canoes, going down the creek beyond the marsh, before the fort, many of them having white shirts; then I commanded the carpenter whom I had shewed to level great guns, to put in two round shot into the two sackers, and we levelled them at a certain place, and I stood to bid him give fire, when I thought the canoe would meet the bullet, and one of them took off the nose of a great canoe wherein the two maids were, that were taken by the Indians, whom I redeemed and clothed, for the Dutchmen, whom I sent to fetch them, brought them away almost naked

from Pequit, they putting on their own linen jackets to cover their nakedness; and though the redemption cost me ten pounds, I am yet to have thanks for my care and charge about them: these things are known to Major Mason.

Then came from the Bay Mr. Tille, with a permit to go up to Harford [Hartford], and coming ashore he saw a paper nailed up over the gate, whereon was written, that no boat or bark should pass the fort, but that they come to an anchor first, that I might see whether they were armed and manned sufficiently, and they were not to land any where after they passed the fort till they came to Wethersfield; and this I did because Mr. Michell had lost a shallop before coming down from Wethersfield, with three men well armed. This Mr. Tille gave me ill language for my presumption, (as he called it,) with other expressions too long here to write. When he had done I bid him go to his warehouse, which he had built before I came, to fetch his goods from thence, for I would watch no longer over it. So he, knowing nothing, went and found his house burnt, and one of Mr. Plum's with others, and he told me to my face that I had caused it to be done; but Mr. Higgisson, Mr. Pell, Thomas Hurlbut and John Green can witness that the same day that our house was burnt at Cornfield-point I went with Mr. Higgisson, Mr. Pell, and four men more, broke open a door and took a note of all that was in the house and gave it to Mr. Higgisson to keep, and so brought all the goods to our house, and delivered it all to them again when they came for it, without any penny of charge. Now the very next day after I had taken the goods out, before the sun was quite down, and we all together in the great hall, all them houses were on fire in one instant. The Indians ran away, but I would not follow them. Now when Mr. Tille had received all his goods I said unto him, I thought I had deserved for my honest care both for their

bodies and goods of those that passed by here, at the least better language, and am resolved to order such malepert persons as you are; therefore I wish you and also charge you to observe that which you have read at the gate, 'tis my duty to God, my masters, and my love I bear to you all which is the ground of this, had you but eyes to see it; but you will not till you feel it. So he went up the river, and when he came down again to his place, which I call Tille's folly, now called Tille's point, in our sight in despite, having a fair wind he came to an anchor, and with one man more went ashore, discharged his gun, and the Indians fell upon him, and killed the other, and carried him alive over the river in our sight, before my shallop could come to them; for immediately I sent seven men to fetch the Pink down, or else it had been taken and three men more. So they brought her down, and I sent Mr. Higgisson and Mr. Pell aboard to take an invoice of all that was in the vessel, that nothing might be lost. Two days after came to me, as I had written to Sir Henerie Vane, then Governor of the Bay, I say came to me Capt. Undrill [Underhill], with twenty lusty men, well armed, to stay with me two months, or 'till something should be done about the Pequits. He came at the charge of my masters. Soon after came down from Harford Maj. Mason, Lieut. Seely, accompanied with Mr. Stone and eighty Englishmen, and eighty Indians, with a commission from Mr. Ludlow and Mr. Steel, and some others; these came to go fight with the Pequits. But when Capt Undrill [Underhill] and I had seen their commission, we both said they were not fitted for such a design, and we said to Maj. Mason we wondered he would venture himself, being no better fitted; and he said the Magistrates could not or would not send better: then we said that none of our men should go with them, neither should they go unless we, that were bred soldiers from our youth, could see

some likelihood to do better than the Bay-men with their strong commission last year. Then I asked them how they durst trust the Mohegin [Mohegan] Indians, who had but that year come from the Pequits. They said they would trust them, for they could not well go without them for want of guides. Yea, said I, but I will try them before a man of ours shall go with you or them; and I called for Uncas and said unto him, You say you will help Maj. Mason, but I will first see it, therefore send you now twenty men to the Bass river, for there went yesternight six Indians in a canoe thither; fetch them now dead or alive, and then you shall go with Maj. Mason, else not. So he sent his men who killed four, brought one a traitor to us alive, whose name was Kiswas, and one run away. And I gave him fifteen yards of trading cloth on my own charge, to give unto his men according to their desert. And having staid there five or six days before we could agree, at last we old soldiers agreed about the way and act, and took twenty insufficient men from the eighty that came from Harford [Hartford] and sent them up again in a shallop, and Capt. Undrill [Underhill] with twenty of the lustiest of our men went in their room, and I furnished them with such things as they wanted, and sent Mr. Pell, the surgeon, with them; and the Lord God blessed their design and way, so that they returned with victory to the glory of God, and honour of our nation, having slain three hundred, burnt their fort, and taken many prisoners. Then came to me an Indian called Wequash, and I by Mr. Higgisson inquired of him, how many of the Pequits were yet alive that had helped to kill Englishmen; and he declared them to Mr. Higgisson, and he writ them down, as may appear by his own hand here enclosed, and I did as therein is written. Then three days after the fight came Waiandance, next brother to the old Sachem of Long Island, and having been recommended to me by

Maj. Gibbons, he came to know if we were angry with all Indians. I answered No, but only with such as had killed Englishmen. He asked me whether they that lived upon Long Island might come to trade with us. I said No, nor we with them, for if I should send my boat to trade for corn, and you have Pequits with you, and if my boat should come into some creek by reason of bad weather, they might kill my men, and I shall think that you of Long-Island have done it, and so we may kill all you for the Pequits; but if you will kill all the Pequits that come to you, and send me their heads, then I will give to you as to Weakwash [Wequash], and you shall have trade with us. Then, said he, I will go to my brother, for he is the great Sachem of Long-Island, and if we may have peace and trade with you, we will give you tribute, as we did the Pequits. Then I said, If you have any Indians that have killed English, you must bring their heads also. He answered not any one, and said that Gibbons, my brother would have told you if it had been so; so he went away and did as I had said, and sent me five heads, three and four heads for which I paid them that brought them as I had promised.

Then came Capt. Stoten [Stoughton] with an army of 300 men, from the Bay, to kill the Pequits; but they were fled beyond New Haven to a swamp. I sent Wequash after them, who went by night to spy them out, and the army followed him, and found them at the great swamp, who killed some and took others, and the rest fled to the Mowhakues [Mohawks], with their Sachem. Then the Mohaws cut off his head and sent it to Harford, for then they all feared us, but now it is otherwise, for they say to our faces that our Commissioner's meeting once a year, and speak a great deal, or write a letter, and there's all for they dare not fight. But before they went to the Great Swamp they sent Thomas Stanton over to Long

Island and Shelter Island, to find Pequits there, but there was none, for the Sachem Waiandance, that, was at Plimoth when the Commissioners were there, and set there last, I say, he had killed so many of the Pequits, and sent their heads to me, that they durst not come there; and he and his men went with the English to the Swamp, and thus the Pequits were quelled at that time. But there was like to be a great broil between Miantenomie [Miantunnomoh] and Unchus [Uncas] who should have the rest of the Pequits, but we mediated between them and pacified them; also Unchus challenged the Narraganset Sachem out to a single combat, but he would not fight without all his men; but they were pacified, though the old grudge remained still, as it doth appear. Thus far I had written in a book, that all men and posterity might know how and why so many honest men had their blood shed, yea, and some flayed alive, others cut in pieces, and some roasted alive, only because Kichamokin [Cutshamequin], a Bay Indian killed one Pequit; and thus far of the Pequit war, which was but a comedy in comparison of the tragedies which hath been here threatened since, and may yet come, if God do not open the eyes, ears, and hearts of some that I think are wilfully deaf and blind, and think because there is no change that the vision fails, and put the evil threatened-day far off, for say they, We are now twenty to one to what we were then, and none dare meddle with us. Oh! wo be to the pride and security which hath been the ruin of many nations, as woful experience has proved.

But I wonder, and so doth many more with me, that the Bay doth not better revenge the murdering of Mr. Oldham, an honest man of their own, seeing they were at such cost for a Virginian. The Narragansets that were at Block-Island killedhim, and had £50 of gold of his, for I saw it when he had five pieces of me, and put it up into a clout and tied it up altogether, when

he went away from me to Block-Island; but the Narragansets had it and punched holes into it, and put it about their necks for jewels; and afterwards I saw the Dutch have some of it, which they had of the Narragansets at a small rate.

And now I find that to be true which our friend Waiandance told me many years ago, and that was this; that seeing all the plots of the Narragansets were always discovered, he said they would let us alone till they had destroyed Uncas, and him, and then they, with the Mowquakes and Mowhaukes and the Indians beyond the Dutch, and all the Northern and Eastern Indians, would easily destroy us, man and mother's son. This have I informed the Governors of these parts, but all in vain, for I see they have done as those of Wethersfield, not regarding till they were impelled to it by blood; and thus we may be sure of the fattest of the flock are like to go first, if not altogether, and then it will be too late to read Jer. xxv.—for drink we shall if the Lord be not the more merciful to us for our extreme pride and base security, which cannot but stink before the Lord; and we may expect this, that if there should be war again between England and Holland, our friends at the Dutch and our Dutch Englishmen would prove as true to us now, as they were when the fleet came out of England; but no more of that, a word to the wise is enough.

And now I am old, I would fain die a natural death, or like a soldier in the field, with honor, and not to have a sharp stake set in the ground, and thrust into my fundament, and to have my skin flayed off by piece-meal, and cut in pieces and bits, and my flesh roasted and thrust down my throat, as these people have done, and I know will be done to the chiefest in the country by hundreds, if God should deliver us into their hands, as justly he may for our sins.

I going over to Meantecut, upon the eastern end of Long

Island, upon some occasion that I had there, I found four Narragansets there talking with the Sachem and his old counsellors. I asked an Indian what they were? He said that they were Narragansets, and that one was Miannemo [Miantunnomoh], a Sachem. What came they for? said I. He said he knew not, for they talked secretly; so I departed to another wigwam. Shortly after came the Sachem Waiandance to me and said, Do you know what these came for? No, said I; then he said, They say I must give no more wampum to the English, for they are no Sachems, nor none of their children shall be in their place if they die; and they have no tribute given them; there is but one king in England, who is over them all, and if you would send him 100,000 fathom of wampum, he would not give you a knife for it, nor thank you. And I said to them, Then they will come and kill us all, as they did the Pequits; then they said, No, the Pequits gave them wampum and beaver, which they loved so well, but they sent it them again, and killed them because they had killed an Englishman; but you have killed none, therefore give them nothing. Now friend, tell me what I shall say to them, for one of them is a great man. Then said I, Tell them that you must go first to the farther end of Long-Island, and speak with all the rest, and a month hence you will give them an answer. Mean time you may go to Mr. Haines, and he will tell you what to do, and I will write all this now in my book that I have here; and so he did, and the Narragansets departed, and this Sachem came to me at my house, and I wrote this matter to Mr. Haines, and he went up with Mr. Haines, who forbid him to give anything to the Narraganset, and writ to me so.—And when they came again they came by my Island, and I knew them to be the same men; and I told them they might go home again, and I gave them Mr. Haynes his letter for Mr. Williams to read to the Sachem. So they returned back again, for I had

said to them, that if they would go to Mantacut I would go likewise with them, and that Long-Island must not give wampum to Narraganset.

A while after this came Miantenomie from Block-Island to Mantacut with a troop of men, Waiandance being not at home; and instead of receiving presents, which they used to do in their progress, he gave them gifts, calling them brethren and friends, for so are we all Indians as the English are, and say brother to one another; so must we be one as they are, otherwise we shall be all gone shortly, for you know our fathers had plenty of deer and skins, our plains were full of deer, as also our woods, and of turkies, and our coves full of fish and fowl. But these English having gotten our land, they with scythes cut down the grass, and with axes felled the trees; their cows and horses eat the grass, and their hogs spoil our clam banks, and we shall all be starved; therefore it is best for you to do as we, for we are all the Sachems from east to west, both Mouquakues and Mowhauks joining with us, and we are all resolved to fall upon them all, at one appointed day; and therefore I am come to you privately first, because you can persuade the Indians and Sachem to what you will, and I will send over fifty Indians to Block-Island, and thirty to you from thence, and take an hundred of Southampton Indians with an hundred of your own here; and when you see the three fires that will be made forty days hence, in a clear night; then do as we, and the next day fall on and kill men women, and children, but no cows, for they will serve to eat till our deer be increased again.—And our old men thought it was well. So the Sachem came home and had but little talk with them, yet he was told there had been a secret consultation between the old men and Miantenomie, but they told him nothing in three days. So he came over to me and acquainted me with the manner of the Narragansets being there with his men, and

asked me what I thought of it; and I told him that the Narraganset Sachem was naught to talk with his men secretly in his absence, and bid him go home, and told him a way how he might know all, and then he should come and tell me; and so he did, and found all out as is above written, and I sent intelligence of it over to Mr. Haynes and Mr. Eaton; but because my boat was gone from home it was fifteen days before they had any letter, and Miantenomie was gotten home before they had the news of it. And the old men, when they saw how I and the Sachem had beguiled them, and that he was come over to me, they sent secretly a canoe over, in a moon-shine night, to Narraganset to tell them all was discovered; so the plot failed, blessed be God, and the plotter, next Spring after, did as Ahab did at Ramoth-Gilead.—So he to Mohegin, and there had his fall.

Two years after this, Ninechrat sent over a captain of his, who acted in every point as the former: him the Sachem took and bound and brought him to me, and I wrote the same to Governor Eaton, and sent an Indian that was my servant and had lived four years with me; him, with nine more, I sent to carry him to New-Haven, and gave them food for ten days. But the wind hindered them at Plum-Island; then they went to Shelter-Island, where the old Sachem dwelt—Waiandance's elder brother, and in the night they let him go, only my letter they sent to New-Haven, and thus these two plots was discovered; but now my friend and brother is gone, who will now do the like?

But if the premises be not sufficient to prove Waiandance a true friend to the English, for some may say he did all this out of malice to the Pequits and Narragansets; now I shall prove the like with respect to the Long-Islanders, his own men. For I being at Meantacut, it happened that for an old grudge of a Pequit, who was put to death at Southampton, being known to be a

murderer, and for this his friends bear a spite against the English. So as it came to pass at that day I was at Mantacut, a good honest woman was killed by them at Southampton, but it was not known then who did this murder. And the brother of this Sachem was Shinacock Sachem could or would not find it out. At that time Mr. Gosmore and Mr. Howell, being magistrates, sent an Indian to fetch the Sachem thither; and it being in the night, I was laid down when he came, and being a great cry amongst them, upon which all the men gathered together, and the story being told, all of them said the Sachem should not go, for, said they, they will either bind you or kill you, and then us, both men, women and children; therefore let your brother find it out, or let them kill you and us, we will live and die together. So there was a great silence for a while, and then the Sachem said, Now you have all done I will hear what my friend will say, for [he] knows what they will do. So they wakened me as they thought, but I was not asleep, and told me the story, but I made strange of the matter, and said, If the magistrates have sent for you why do you not go? They will bind me or kill me, saith he. I think so, said I, if you have killed the woman, or known of it, and did not reveal it; but you were here and did it not. But was any of your Mantauket Indians there to-day? They all answered, Not a man these two days, for we have inquired concerning that already. Then said I, Did none of you ever hear any Indian say he would kill English? No, said they all; then I said, I shall not go home 'till to-morrow, though I thought to have been gone so soon as the moon was up, but I will stay here till you all know it is well with your Sachem; if they bind him, bind me, and if they kill him, kill me. But then you must find out him that did the murder, and all that know of it, them they will have and no more. Then they with a great cry thanked me, and I wrote a small note

with the Sachem, that they should not stay him long in their houses, but let him eat and drink and be gone, for he had his way before him. So they did, and that night he found out four that were consenters to it, and knew of it, and brought them to them at Southampton, and they were all hanged at Harford, whereof one of these was a great man among them, commonly called the Blue Sachem.

A further instance of his faithfulness is this; about the Pequit war time one William Hamman [Hammond], of the Bay, killed by a giant-like Indian towards the Dutch. I heard of it, and told Waiandance that he must kill him or bring him to me, but he said it was not his brother's mind, and he is the great Sachem of all Long-Island, likewise the Indian is a mighty great man, and no man durst meddle with him, and hath many friends. So this rested until he had killed another, one Thomas Farrington. After this the old Sachem died, and I spake to this Sachem again about it, and he answered, He is so cunning that when he hears that I come that way a hunting, that his friends tell him, and then he is gone.—But I will go at some time when nobody knows of it, and then I will kill him; and so he did — and this was the last act which he did for us, for in the time of a great mortality among them he died, but it was by, poison; also two thirds of the Indians upon Long-Island died, else the Narragansets had not made such havoc here as they have, and might not help them.—And this I have written chiefly for our own good, that we might consider what danger we are all in, and also to declare to the country that we had found an heathen, yea an Indian, in this respect to parallel the Jewish Mordecai. But now I am at a stand, for all we English would be thought and called Christians; yet though I have seen this before spoken, having been these twenty-four years in the mouth of the premises, yet I know not where to find, or

whose name to insert, to parallel Ahasuerus lying on his bed and could not sleep, and called for the Chronicles to be read; and when he heard Mordecai named, said, What hath been done for him? But who will say as he said, or do answerable to what he did? But our New England twelve-penny Chronicle is stuffed with a catalogue of the names of some, as if they had deserved immortal fame; but the right New-England military worthies are left out for want of room, as Maj. Mason, Capt. Undrill [Underhill], Lieut. Sielly [Seely], &c., who undertook the desperate way and design to Mistick Fort, and killed three hundred, burnt the fort and took many prisoners, though they are not once named. But honest Abraham thought it no shame to name the confederates that helped him to war when he redeemed his brother Lot; but Uncas of Mistick, and Waiandance, at the Great Swamp and ever since your trusty friend, is forgotten, and for our sakes persecuted to this day with fire and sword, and Ahasuerus of New-England is still asleep, and if there be any like to Ahasuerus, let him remember what glory to God and honor to our nation hath followed their wisdom and valor. Awake! awake Ahasuerus, if there be any need of thy seed or spirit here, and let not Haman destroy us as he hath done our Mordecai! And although there hath been much blood shed here in these parts among us, God and we know it came not by us. But if all must drink of this cup that is threatened, then shortly the king of Sheshack shall drink last, and tremble and fall when our pain will be past. O that I were in the countries again, that in their but twelve years truce, repaired cities and towns, made strong forts and prepared all things needful against a time of war like Solomon. I think the soil hath almost infected me, but what they or our enemies will do hereafter I know not. I hope I shall not live so long to hear or see it, for I am old and out of date, else I might be in fear

to see and hear that I think ere long will come upon us. Thus for our tragical story, now to the comedy. When we were all at supper in the great hall, they (the Pequits) gave us alarm to draw us out three times before we could finish our short supper, for we had but little to eat, but you know that I would not go out; the reasons you know.

2ndly. You Robert Chapman, you know that when you and John Bagley were beating samp at the Garden Pales, the sentinels called you to run in, for there was a number of Pequits creeping to you to catch you ; I hearing it went up to the Redoubt and put two cross-bar shot into the two guns that lay above, and levelled them at the trees in the middle of the limbs and boughs, and gave order to John Frend and his man to stand with hand-spikes to turn them this or that way, as they should hear the Indians shout, for they should know my shout from theirs for it should be very short. Then I called six men and the dogs, and went out, running to the place, and keeping all abreast, in sight, close together. And when I saw my time, I said, Stand ! and called all to me saying, Look on me; and when I hold up my hand, then shout as loud as you can, and when I hold down my hand, then leave; and so they did. Then the Indians began a long shout, and then went off the two great guns and tore the limbs of the trees about their ears, so that divers of them were hurt, as may yet appear, for you told me when I was up at Harford this present year, '60, in the month of September, that there is one of them lyeth above Harford, that is fain to creep on all four, and we shouted once or twice more ; but they would not answer us again, so we returned home laughing. Another pretty prank we had with three great doors of ten feet long and four feet broad, being bored full of holes and driven full of long nails, as sharp as awl blades, sharpened by Thomas Hurlbut.—These we placed in certain

places where they should come, fearing least they should come in the night and fire our redoubt and battery, or all the place, for we had seen their footing, where they had been in the night, when they shot at our sentinels, but could not hit them for the boards; and in a dry time and a dark night they came as they did before, and found the way a little too sharp for them; and as they skipped from one they trod upon another, and left the nails and doors dyed with their blood, which you know we saw the next morning laughing at it.—And this I write that young men my learn, if they should meet with such trials as we met with there, and have not opportunity to cut off their enemies; yet they may, with such pretty pranks, preserve themselves from danger,—for policy is needful in wars as well as strength.—FINIS.

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*The society for propagating the gospel; the faithful labors of the New England ministers to instruct the natives in the religion of Jesus Christ.**

IN 1650, a society in England, instituted for propagating the gospel, began a correspondence with the commissioners of the United Colonies, who were employed as agents for the society. In consequence, exertions were made to christianize the Indians. The Rev. Mr. Eliot, minister of Roxbury, had distinguished himself in this pious work. He had established towns, in which he collected Indian families, taught them husbandry, the mechanic arts, and a prudent management of their affairs, and instructed them with unwearied attention in the principles of the christian religion. For his zeal and success he has been called the *Apostle of New England.*

He began his labors about the year 1646, being in the forty-second year of his age. The first pagans, who enjoyed his la-

[* Taken from Morse & Parrish's History of New England, p. 207.]

bors, resided at Nonantum, now the east part of Newton. Waban, a principal chief there, became a convert, and was distinguished for his piety. Being encouraged by the success of his first attempt, he soon after opened a lecture at Neponsit, within the present bounds of Dorchester. These two lectures he continued several years without any reward or encouragement, but the satisfaction of doing good to the souls of men. Beside preaching to them, he formed two catechisms, one for the children, the other for adults. They readily learned these, seriously attended his public lectures, and very generally prayed in their families, morning and evening.

After a number of years, certain individuals in England, affected by his pious and disinterested labors, raised some generous contributions for his encouragement; he gratefully received these, declaring that he had never expected any thing. By such timely aid he was enabled to educate his five sons at college. All these were distinguished for their piety, and all, excepting one, who died while a member of college, were preachers of the gospel. His eldest son preached several years to the Indians at *Pakemit*, now Stoughton, and at Natick, and other places. Other ministers, in different parts of New England, by the example of Mr. Eliot, zealously engaged in the missionary work. Messrs. Bourne and Cotton in Plymouth colony, studied the Indian language, and preached at Martha's Vineyard and other places. At Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, Mr. Mayhew and son entered on the work; and in Connecticut Messrs. Pierson and Fitch preached Jesus and the resurrection to the heathen in their vicinity.

That the natives might have the word of life in their own language, which alone was able to make them wise unto salvation, Mr. Eliot translated the Bible for their use. The New Testament was published in 1661, and the whole Bible soon

after. The expense was borne by the society for propagating the gospel in New England. Beside this, he translated and composed several other books, as a primer, a grammar, singing psalms, the practice of piety, Baxter's call, and several other things. He took care that schools should be opened in the Indian settlements, where their children were taught to read; some were put into schools of the English, and studied Latin and Greek. A building was erected for their reception, and several of them sent to Cambridge college. The legislature instituted judicial courts among the natives, answering to the county courts of the colony. In these courts, one English judge was united with those chosen by the natives. They had rulers and magistrates elected by themselves, who manage their smaller matters.

The first church of the christianized pagans was gathered at Natick; they had two instructors of their own body, when the English preachers could not attend. In 1670, they had between forty and fifty communicants. The second praying town was Pakemit, or Punkapaog, now Stoughton; their first teacher was of their own number, William Ahawton, "a pious man, of good parts." The second church of Indians was at *Hassanamessit*, now Grafton; their teacher's name was Takuppa-willin, "a pious and able man, and apt to teach." They had a meeting house built after the English manner; their communicants were sixteen, their baptized persons thirty.

At *Okommakummessit*, or Marlborough, was a society, with a teacher. *Wamesit*, or Tewksbury, was the fifth praying society; their teacher was called Samuel, who could read and write. Annually a judicial court was held there. Here Mr. Eliot used to go and preach at that season, on account of the strangers, who resorted there. In 1774, after he had been preaching from Matt. xxii. concerning the marriage of the king's son, at the

wigwam of Wannalancet, near the falls, this man, who was the oldest son of the sachem or king, who had always been friendly to the English, but openly rejected the gospel, after the sermon, rose and said, "Sirs, you have been pleased, for four years, in your abundant love, to apply yourselves particularly to me and my people, to exhort, press and persuade us to pray to God. I am very thankful to you for your pains. I must acknowlenge, I have all my days used to pass in an old canoe, and you exhort me to change and leave my old canoe, and embark in a new canoe, which I have always opposed; but now I yield myself up to your advice, and enter into a new canoe, and do engage to pray to God hereafter." He ever after persevered in a christian course, though on this account several of his people deserted him. The sixth society gathered from the Indians, was at Nashobah, now Littleton: their teacher was called John Thomas. In this place, and at Marlborough, the Indians had orchards set out by themselves. Mungunkook, or Hopkinton, was the next place where a christian society was gathered; the families were twelve, their teacher was Job.

Several years after, seven other societies of praying Indians, with Indian teachers, were formed further west. One in Oxford, one in Dudley, three in different parts of Woodstock, which was then claimed by Massachusetts, one in Worcester, and one in Uxbridge. Several other places about the same time received christian preachers. The places mentioned received teachers selected from the natives, who had been instructed by Mr. Eliot. The whole number of those called praying Indians, in these places, was about 1100.

But the gospel was preached with still greater effect in Plymouth colony. The Rev. Mr. Bourne had under his care, on Cape Cod and its vicinity, about 500 souls; of whom about 200 could read, and more than 70 could write. He had formed one

church of twenty-seven communicants; ninety had been baptized. Beside these, Mr. Cotton of Plymouth preached occasionally to about half a hundred on Buzzard's Bay. Mr. Mayhew and son began to instruct the Indians of Marth's Vineyard, in 1648 or 9. They were remarkably successful. The greatest part of them were soon considered as praying Indians. On this island and Chappaquiddick, were 300 families; on the latter, sixty, of whom fifty-nine were praying families. On Nantucket was a church, and many praying families. In 1694, there were on this island three churches and five assemblies of praying Indians. In 1685, the praying Indians in Plymouth colony were 1439, beside children under twelve years of age. At one time, in different parts, were twenty-four congregations. In Connecticut and Rhode Island, but little success attended the gospel among the Indians. The sachems of Narragansett and Mohegan violently opposed their people's hearing the gospel. The Rev. Mr. Fitch of Norwich, took great pains, gave some of the Mohegans lands of his own, that they, who were disposed to hear the gospel might be nearer him, and also freed from the revilings of their companions; at one time he had about thirty under his care.

The legislatures of the several colonies enacted salutary laws for restraining the evil conduct of the natives; means were also furnished for their receiving presents or rewards for distinguishing themselves in what was laudable. In Connecticut, the legislature in 1655, having appointed a governor over the Pequots, gave him the following laws, to which the people were to subject themselves. They shall not blaspheme the name of God, nor profane the sabbath. They shall not commit murder, nor practice witchcraft, on pain of death. "They shall not commit adultery, on pain of severe punishment. Whosoever is drunk shall pay ten shillings, or receive ten stripes. He that steals shall pay double damage."

FINIS.

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